

Transformations of the Classics
via Early Modern Commentaries

Intersections

Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture

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Edited by

Karl A.E. Enenkel



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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
Notes on the Editor	ix
Notes on the Contributors	xi
List of Illustrations	xv

Introduction – The Transformation of the Classics. Practices, Forms, and Functions of Early Modern Commenting	1
KARL A.E. ENENKEL	

POETRY

Horace and Ramist Dialectics: Pierre Gaultier Chabot's (1516–1598?) Commentaries	15
FLORIS B. VERHAART	
Changing Metatexts and Changing Poetic Ideals	47
TRINE ARLUND HASS	
Horaz als Schulfibel und als elitärer Gründungstext des deutschen Humanismus. Die illustrierte Horazausgabe des Jakob Locher (1498)	61
CHRISTOPH PIEPER	
Petrus Nannius als Philologe und Literaturkritiker im Lichte seines Kommentars zur <i>Ars Poetica</i> des Horaz	91
MARC LAUREYS	
Scholarly Polemic: Bartolomeo Fonzio's Forgotten Commentary on Juvenal	111
GERGÓ GELLÉRFI	
Commenting on Claudian's 'Political Poems', 1612/1650	125
VALÉRY BERLINCOURT	

HISTORY AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Josse Bade's <i>Familiaris Commentarius</i> on Valerius Maximus (1510): A School Commentary?	153
MARIJKE CRAB	
Illustrations as Commentary and Readers' Guidance. The Transformation of Cicero's <i>De Officiis</i> into a German Emblem Book by Johann von Schwarzenberg, Heinrich Steiner, and Christian Egenolff (1517–1520; 1530/1531; 1550)	167
KARL A.E. ENENKEL	
Understanding National Antiquity. Transformations of Tacitus's <i>Germania</i> in Beatus Rhenanus's <i>Commentariolus</i>	261
RONNY KAISER	
Annotating Tacitus: The Case of Justus Lipsius	279
JEANINE DE LANDTSHEER	

NATURAL HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

The Survival of Pliny in Padua. Transforming Classical Scholarship during the Botanical Renaissance	329
SUSANNA DE BEER	
Elephants and Bears through the Eyes of Scholars: A Case Study of Pliny's Zoology in the 15th–16th Centuries	363
EKATERINA ILYUSHECHKINA	
Frühneuzeitliche Landesbeschreibung in einer antiken Geographie – Der Rhein aus persönlicher Perspektive in Vadians Kommentar zu Pomponius Mela (1522)	389
KATHARINA SUTER-MEYER	
Index Nominum	411

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For the present volume, seven papers (of fourteen) were selected, which appear now in much revised form, and these were supplemented by six other contributions. Some articles (Susanna de Beer, Ekaterina Ilyushchikina, Christoph Pieper, Floris Verhaart, and myself) originated from my research program *The New Management of Knowledge in the Early Modern Period: The Transmission of Classical Latin Literature via Neo-Latin Commentaries*, funded by the *Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research* (NWO). Special thanks to Marc Laureys who has organised in the said conference a special session on commentaries on Horace. The English of most contributions was corrected by Meredith McGroarty.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures 1–5 (accompanying the article of Christoph Pieper)

1. Typical Layout with interlinear glosses, marginalia and *maniculae*, of *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Strassbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. XXXII v (Leiden, University Library 1366 B 25) 76
2. Woodcut to Horace, *Carmen* II, 5, from *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Strassbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. XXXIII v (Leiden, University Library 1366 B 25) 76
3. Title page of *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Strassbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) (Leiden, University Library 1366 B 25) 78
4. The Coronation of Horace by Calliope, from *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Strassbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. <2>r (Leiden, University Library 1366 B 25) 79
5. Markgraf Karl of Baden and Jakob Locher. Illustration to the letter of dedication, from *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Strassbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. <2>v 82

Figure 1 (accompanying the article of Marijke Crab)

1. Oliverius's and Bade's commentaries on Valerius Maximus, IX, 13, ext. 3, in *Valerius Maximus cum duplici commentario, historico videlicet ac litterato Oliverii Arzignanensis et familiari admodum ac succincto Iodoci Badii Ascensii* ([Paris], Josse Bade: 1510) fol. 395v–396r (Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, BIB.G.009101) 156

Figures 1–37 (accompanying the article of Karl Enenkel)

1. Julius Caesar presiding over the Roman Senate. Title page of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen [...]* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531; Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/VD16 C 3238) 169

2.	Title page of Petrarch, <i>Von der Artzney bayder Glück</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532; private collection)	171
3.	Portrait of Johann von Schwarzenberg, ascribed to Albrecht Dürer. In the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531), verso of the title page (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238) ...	178
4.	Johann von Schwarzenberg, <i>Memorial der Tugent</i> , title page, in idem, <i>Teütsch Cicero</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XCVI r (Munich, Digi – ResL2 A.lat.b. 273#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00029340-3/ VD16 C 3774)	180
5.	Academic promotion after the <i>disputatio</i> . Emblem II, 1 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XL r (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238)	183
6.	“The master’s degree”. Petrarch, <i>Von der Artzney bayder Glück</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. LX r (private collection)	186
7a.	The honest and the useful interconnected. Emblem II, 2 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XL v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238)	188
7b.	Detail (private collection)	189
8.	“On the education of children” – “Von ler der kind”. Illustration to Sebastian Brant, <i>Narrenschiff</i> (Basel, Johann Bergmann: 1494) no. 6 (Rar. 121urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00036978-3/ BSB-Ink B-816GW 5041)	190
9a.	A German patrician and his wife take care of an ill old man. Emblem II, 3 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLI v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238)	193
9b.	Detail (private collection)	194
10a.	The raid of a farm. Emblem II, 4 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLII v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238)	196

10b.	Detail (private collection)	197
11a.	Bribery. Emblem II, 5 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238)	198
11b.	Detail (private collection)	199
12a.	The murder of Caesar. Emblem II, 6 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII r (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/VD16 C 3238)	203
12b.	Detail (private collection)	204
13.	The murder of Cicero. Johann von Schwarzenberg, <i>Teütsch Cicero</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XIX v (Munich, Digi – ResI2 A.lat.b. 273#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00029340-3/ VD16 C 3774)	205
14.	Proverb ‘To put a lock on one’s mouth’. Röhrich, <i>Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten</i> , vol. V, 1368	206
15.	The beheading of a subject (Cicero). Emblem II, 7 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238)	207
16.	The beheading of Cicero. Petrarch, <i>Von der Artzney bayder Glück</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. CXXIX r (private collection)	209
17.	The tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse. Petrarch, <i>Von der Artzney bayder Glück</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. XXXVIII r (private collection)	210
18.	The tyrant. Emblem of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. LXXXII v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238) ...	213
19.	“Von der verlornen Tyranny” (“On the loss of a lordship”). Petrarch, <i>Von der Artzney bayder Glück</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. XCVI r (private collection)	214
20.	“Von peinigung” (“On torture”). Petrarch, <i>Von der Artzney bayder Glück</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. LXXVI v (private collection)	215

21a.	Soldiers throwing the dice. Emblem II, 8 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLV v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/VD16 C 3238)	217
21b.	Detail (private collection)	218
22a.	“How to build a barn” (“mit Nachbarn baut man Scheunen”). Emblem II, 9 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVI v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/VD16 C 3238)	222
22b.	Detail (private collection)	223
23.	Patrician with (his) children. Emblem II, 10 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVII r (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/VD16 C 3238)	225
24.	Patrician with his children, “On the birth of children”. Petrarch, <i>Von der Artzney bayder Glück</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. LXXXVIII v (private collection)	226
25.	Social admiration. Emblem II, 11 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVIII r (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/VD16 C 3238)	228
26.	“A good lord” (The Emperor Augustus). Petrarch, <i>Von der Artzney bayder Glück</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. CI r (private collection)	229
27a.	Personification of Virtue and its enemies. Emblem II, 12 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVIII v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/VD16 C 3238)	231
27b.	Detail (private collection)	232
28.	“The fox”. Emblem II, 14 of the German <i>De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen</i> [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. L r (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/VD16 C 3238)	235

29. A bad foster father. Emblem of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XX v (Munich, Digi – Rar. 148# Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00010109-8/ VD16 C 3238) 238
30. Heavily drinking Germans. Title page of Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Ein buechle wider das zuotrinckenn*, in idem, *Teütsch Cicero* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. LXXIX r (Munich, Digi – ResI2 A.lat.b. 273#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00029340-3/ VD16 C 3774) 240
31. Title page of *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) (private collection) 243
32. Avarice. Emblem from *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. X v. Detail (private collection) 246
33. Providing one's neighbour with fire, showing the right way to strangers. Emblem from *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. XII r (Munich, Digi – 2 A.lat.b. 216#Beibd.1 urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10140570-6/ VD16 C 3248) 247
34. Venus figure. Emblem of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XXX v. Detail (private collection) ... 249
35. "A splendid body" or Vanity. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1932), book I, fol. II v. Detail (private collection) 251
36. "Überhebung der hochfart" (Vainglory caught by the devil). Illustration to Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff* (Basel, Johann Bergmann: 1494) no. 92 (Rar. 121urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00036978-3/ BSB-Ink B-816GW 5041) 253
37. The worshipping of the "klosterkatze". Emblem II, 14 of *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. L r. Detail (private collection) 254

Figures 1–13 (accompanying the article of Jeanine De Landtheer)

1. Title page of the *editio princeps* of Lipsius's edition of Tacitus's *Opera omnia* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1574; private collection) 281
2. Aemylus Ferretus's edition of Tacitus with annotations in Lipsius's hand (Lyons, Sebastianus Gryphius: 1542) 270–271 (Leiden, University Library, 760 F 10) 286

3. Two pages of the <i>Notae ad Annales</i> (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1574) 710–711 (Leiden, University Library, 760 F 11)	297
4. Lipsius's copy of an inscription with the surnames of the Roman legions (Leiden, University Library, ms. 22) fol. 18v	299
5. The same list in the <i>editio princeps</i> (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1574) 663 (Leiden, University Library, 760 F 11)	299
6. Genealogical tree of the Parthian kings in <i>Ad Annales commentarius</i> (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1581) 76–77 (Leiden, University Library, 760 G 9)	305
7. Woodcut of signet keys, in <i>Ad Annales commentarius</i> (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1581) 78–79 (Leiden, University Library, 760 G 9)	307
8. Genealogical tree of the Julian-Claudian house, in <i>Ad Annales commentarius</i> (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1581) (Antwerp, MPM, A 1719)	308
9. Opening part of the <i>Monumentum Ancyranum</i> , in Lipsius's <i>Auctarium</i> to Martinus Smetius, <i>Inscriptionum Antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber</i> [...] (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1588) fol. 19 (Leiden, University Library, 341 A 6)	311
10. Title page of Tacitus's <i>Opera omnia</i> of 1585 with the Leiden imprint (Leiden, Christopher Plantin: 1585) (Leiden, University Library, 762 B 4)	314
11. First page of Palmerius's additional remarks, based on the 1581 edition (Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 5)	318
12. Beginning of Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> VI in the 1607 edition (Antwerp, Joannes Moretus) 142 (Leiden, University Library, 762 B 5)	321
13. <i>Excursus A</i> of <i>Annales</i> XI in the 1607 edition (Antwerp, Joannes Moretus) 528–529 (Leiden, University Library, 762 B 5)	322

Figures 1–4 (accompanying the article of Susanna de Beer)

1. “Cneorum Matthioli”. Engraving to Petrus Andreas Mattioli, <i>Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia</i> (Venice, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1565) 46. Photo courtesy of Leiden University Library (inv. 650 A 1)	344
2. Title page of the first Italian edition of Mattioli's commentary, Pedacio Dioscuride, <i>Libri cinque della historia et materia medicinale</i> [...] (Venice, De Bascarini: 1544). Photo courtesy of BNF (Inv. FRBNF 30908403)	346

3. Title page of the 1565 Latin edition of Petrus Andreas Mattioli, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia* (Venice, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1565). Photo courtesy of Leiden University Library (inv. 650 A 1) 347
4. Georg Handtsch, 'Portrait of Andrea Mattioli'. Engraving to Petrus Andreas Mattioli, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia* (Venice, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1565). Photo courtesy of Leiden University Library (inv. 650 A 1) 348

Figures 1–4 (accompanying the article of Katharina Suter-Meyer)

1. Beginning of the "Rhine-lemma" on page 167 in Joachim Vadianus, *Melae de orbis situ libri tres accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctoribus factis [...]* (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Universitätsbibliothek Basel CFIII 12:1 393
2. Joachim Vadianus, "Rhine-lemma" (from 'Lacus Acronius' to 'Vadiani Patria'). Page 168 in Joachim Vadianus, *Melae de orbis situ libri tres accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctoribus factis [...]* (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Universitätsbibliothek Basel CFIII 12:1 394
3. Joachim Vadianus, "Rhine-lemma" (from 'Melchior Vadianus' to 'Venetus exercitus profligatus'). Page 169 in Joachim Vadianus, *Melae de orbis situ libri tres accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctoribus factis [...]* (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Universitätsbibliothek Basel CFIII 12:1 395
4. Concluding part of Vadianus's "Rhine-lemma" and last sentence of Mela's description of the Rhine (from 'Flevo dicitur' to 'fluvius emittitur'). Page 170 in Joachim Vadianus, *Melae de orbis situ libri tres accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctoribus factis [...]* (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Universitätsbibliothek Basel CFIII 12:1 396

INTRODUCTION – THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CLASSICS.
PRACTICES, FORMS, AND FUNCTIONS OF EARLY MODERN
COMMENTING

Karl A.E. Enenkel

Recently, a vivid interest in commentaries came into being, as did a sense of the important role commentaries have played in the transmission of the classical heritage, especially in the early modern period.¹ Early modern intellectuals rarely read classical authors in a simple and “direct” form, but generally via intermediary paratexts: dedications, prefaces, and other introductory texts; *argumenta*; indices; illustrations; and above all, all kinds of commentaries – *annotationes*, *notae*, *commenta*, *commentaria*, *commentariola*, *animadversiones*, *paraphrases*, etc. These intermediary texts presented the classical text to modern readers in certain ways that determined and guided the reader’s perception of the text being commented upon. After all, the classical texts were composed in ages so very different from the period ca. 1450–1700. They were not only 1,000–2,000 years old, but they were written in a culture that in many respects had become alien to early modern readers. It was not self-evident to readers from 1450–1700 in what way these texts should be read, interpreted, and used. Take, for example, Martial’s *Epigrams*, which are full of explicit, partly homoerotic sexuality; they describe sexual practices and positions of lovemaking; they describe oral and anal sex, both heterosexual and homosexual; and many times they address pederasty. As Martial says in the first book of his *Epigrams*, his ‘verses cannot please without a cock’ (‘non possunt sine mentula placere’).² In 1450–1700, however, sexual culture was directed on the one hand by Catholic Church, which – via a long tradition – had restricted not only the representations of sexual practices but the practices themselves

¹ Cf. Inter alia, Assmann J. – Gladigow B. (eds.), *Text und Kommentar. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* (Munich: 1995); Campi E. et al. (eds.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Geneva: 2008); Grafton A., “Commentary”, in Grafton A. – Most G.W. – Settis S. (eds.), *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2010) 225–233; Enenkel K.A.E. – Nellen H. (eds.), *Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1300–1700)*, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia XXXIII* (Leuven: 2013).

² Martial, *Epigrammata* I, 35.5.

to a bare minimum: sex was allowed only between a husband and wife, only for the purpose of procreation, and only to a certain “decent” degree that excluded much lust.³ And talking explicitly about such matters was certainly not encouraged. Protestants, on the other hand, were at least as eager as the Catholics to take a decent, restrictive, and moral stand. Thus, what could be the use of Martial’s verses?

Niccolò Perotti (1429–1480), Archbishop of Siponto, for example, composed an extensive commentary (completed in 1478) on the first book of Martial’s epigrams that numbered more than 1,000 folio pages, which would be some 3,000 modern standard pages. This commentary is at least 40 times as long as Martial’s text and overpowers it to such a degree that Martial’s verses get almost lost. What Perotti offers is in fact a manual on the authentic Latin language of antiquity, as its title indicates: *Cornucopiae seu Latinae linguae commentarii locupletissimi* [...] – *Cornucopiae or Very Rich Commentaries on the Latin Language*.⁴ Via his commentary, Perotti transformed Martial’s text into a manual on the Latin language. To modern readers, this may seem to be a very strange project. Today, it would be a hopeless effort to sell a book of 3,000 pages, let alone a commentary of this length. In the early modern period, however, Perotti’s work was very successful: it became one of the basic texts of modern, advanced humanism. The classical writer Martial, on the other hand, would be more than surprised to see that in the 15th and 16th centuries he had become a lexicon; that the first 100 pages of his work – had he ever published a work of such a length? – would be a far cry from the frivolous humor for which he was famous. The Curio edition indeed starts with the paradigm of serious scholarship – a word index of 100 pages, with each page containing five columns of approximately 40 entries each, a total of some 20,000 entries. And Martial would be even more astonished if he discovered that the index entries do not refer to his poems but to an extensive commentary of about 3,000 pages that comprises the whole of the Latin language.

Perotti’s commentary on Martial, of course, represents an extreme form of early modern commenting; nevertheless, it may serve as a paradigm for the processes by which early modern commentators transformed the

³ Enenkel K.A.E., art. “Neo-Latin Erotic and Pornographic Literature (ca. 1400–ca. 1700)”, in Ford Ph. et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Neo-Latin Literature* (forthcoming).

⁴ For example, Basel, Valentinus Curio: 1532. The index is placed in front, before the main text. Its length is approximately 100 folio pages, with five columns on each page; each page contains approximately 50 entries. For Perotti’s *Cornucopiae*, see Furno M., *Le Cornucopiae di Niccolò Perotti. Culture et méthode d’un humaniste qui aimait les mots* (Geneva: 1995).

texts of antiquity. In many cases, a much longer and more extended commentary accompanied a comparatively small antique text that the reader entered via large (entrance) halls of *annotations* and other paratexts. Of course, it was up to the reader to figure out how to move around in this large and complex textual building, and to be very selective. At least theoretically, he was free to ignore all comments and move straight ahead to the classical text. We have evidence, however, that readers sometimes first consulted the commentary text and only looked at the “main text” second. In cases such as the Curio edition of the *Cornucopiae*, the index refers to the commentary only, but not to the main text. This means, of course, that the reader who oriented himself via the index would automatically go to the commentaries first.

Such observations may challenge the notion of “paratext” that has become common since it was introduced by Gérard Genette (1987).⁵ In the case of early modern commentaries, it is sometimes hard to say what the “(main) text” is. This is also the case with the commentary by Joachim Vadianus, a humanist and reformer from Switzerland, that was composed on the geography of Pomponius Mela. Vadianus’s commentary (first edition 1519; second edition 1522) is discussed in this volume by Katharina Suter-Meyer. Sometimes the commentator Vadianus takes over the role of the author: for example, when he writes on topics with which the ancient author was not familiar. This is true, for example, for the description of the Rhine: Mela was not acquainted with Switzerland and Helvetian towns such as St. Gallen, Vadianus’s home town. St. Gallen did not even exist in Roman times. In this case, the modern commentator, via his commentary, transforms the ancient *periplus* chorography into a modern regional geography. It is even more remarkable that this regional geography is focused on ideological questions: Vadianus has carefully constructed it as a founding text of the early modern “national” identity of Switzerland.

Among the early modern intellectuals, the humanists excelled as the most prolific commentary writers, text editors, and collectors of knowledge, with an almost irresistible inclination to comment on all kinds of texts. The commentaries they composed had an enormous impact on education; reading and writing practices; the formation, organization, authorization, and transmission of knowledge; and the reception of the classics. Early modern intellectuals got in touch with Latin commentaries in the

⁵ Genette G., *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: 1997; origin: *Seuils*, Paris: 1987).

first years of their school education, and many of them stayed involved with the ‘commentary business’ their whole life. Commentaries shaped university education; various professional activities; professional scholarship; private learning and intellectual entertainment; printing and publishing; religious life; and even segments of life that were seemingly far removed from scholarship and learning, such as warfare, engineering, and agriculture. Whereas up to ca. 1400 commentators dealt with only a limited number of canonical texts, in the 17th century they ended up with the whole body of classical Latin literature and even more than that.⁶

Different from scholarly commentaries from the 19th century until today, early modern commentaries were not primarily or exclusively focused on explaining (or reconstructing) the supposedly authentic meaning of works of the past in a historical sense. Their primary concern was about the present-day use (*usus*) and application of antiquity’s writings in every possible sense. In their commentaries they tried to mediate the classical text in a way that would guarantee a maximum profit with respect to general knowledge (“Bildung”, encyclos paideia), moral education, knowledge of facts in various fields and disciplines, identity formation (culturally, socially, “nationally”, and otherwise), school and university education, mastery of the Latin language (grammar and style) with regard to both reading and writing, and so on.

Since a substantial overview of the various forms, functions, and contents of early modern commentaries (by Henk Nellen and myself) has appeared recently, it does not seem necessary to repeat its findings and remarks here in detail.⁷ The reader may consult this overview or my lemma on “Neo-Latin Commentaries” in the *Encyclopedia of Neo-Latin Literature*. On the history of commentaries in the classical tradition, there exists an excellent lexicon entry by Anthony Grafton.⁸ In his lemma, Grafton has called the Italian 15th century the ‘century of commentary’; this is true, however, for the 16th and 17th centuries as well. In those centuries, the number of commentaries was almost exploding: still more commentaries were written, and with the help of the now established printed

⁶ Enenkel K.A.E., art. “Neo-Latin Commentaries”, in Ford Ph. et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Neo-Latin Literature* (forthcoming).

⁷ Enenkel K.A.E. – Nellen H., “Introduction: Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1300–1700)”, in idem, (eds.), *Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge* (Leuven: 2013) 1–76.

⁸ Grafton, “Commentary” 225–233.

book, the commented editions became the standard form in which classical texts appeared.

A new paratextual means that in early modern editions was used for the new transmission of classical texts, were printed images (woodcuts, etches, copper plates). Images accompany, present, adapt, and transform the “main” texts in a way similar to the commentaries. In a sense, images also may be regarded as early modern comments on classical texts. They focus the reader’s attention on aspects the early modern transmitters considered important or essential for the understanding, interpretation, and usage of the texts. Commentary by images had already become important at a comparatively early stage of the printed book, between 1490 and 1570 (see below). Of course, not all classical authors were equipped with figures, but some were, such as Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, Plautus, Terence, Pliny the Elder, and Cicero. It is fascinating to analyze the ways in which the various comments by images function.

The contributions of this volume testify both to the present vivid interest in early modern commentaries and to the abovementioned characteristics. Seven of them go back to the 15th International Conference of the IANLS, which was held in Münster (Germany) last year and in which a substantial section of some 14 papers was dedicated to commentaries, a section that was extremely well visited and brought forth vivid discussions. For this volume, seven papers were selected, and these were supplemented by six other contributions. All of the contributions demonstrate the important role commentaries played in transmitting classical texts and in handing them down to early modern readers. They deal not only with Italian commentators, who surely dominated the first phase of humanist exegesis in the 15th century. Italian commentators are, of course, present in this volume, albeit in a minority: in the articles by Gergő Gellérfi (on Bartolomeo Fonzio [1447–1513]), Susanna de Beer (Nicolò Leonicensio [1428–1524], Pietro Andrea Mattioli [1501–1578], and Gabriele Faloppio [1523–1562]), Christoph Pieper (Cristoforo Landino [1424–1498] and Antonio Mancinelli [1452–1505]),⁹ and Ekatarina Iliushechkina (Marcantonio Sabellico [1436–1506]).

More importantly, the fact that from ca. 1490 commenting on classical authors had become a truly European phenomenon is reflected in the majority of the contributions: they deal with commentators from the

⁹ Pieper’s contribution, however, is dedicated primarily to the German commentator Jakob Locher Philomusus.

German Empire, such as Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471–1528; Pieper), Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547; Ronny Kaiser), Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540; Trine Arlund Hass), and Caspar von Barth (1587–1658; Valery Berlin-court); from France, such as Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1462–1535), who was born in the Low Countries but worked in Lyons and Paris (Marijke Crab), Étienne Laigue, alias Stephanus Aquaeus (+1535; Iliushechkina), Jacques Daléchamps (1513–1588; the same and de Beer), and Pierre Gaultier Chabot (1516–1598; Floris Verhaart); the Low Countries, such as Petrus Nannius (1500–1557; Marc Laureys) and Justus Lipsius (Jeanine De Landtsheer); Switzerland, such as Joachim Vadianus (1584–1551; Katharina Suter Meyer); and Tchechia, such as Zikmund Hrubý, alias Sigismundus Gelenius (ca. 1497–1554; Iliushechkina).

Only one third of the contributions deal with commentaries on classical texts that had been commented upon already in antiquity (Virgil and Horace). In a sense, this is characteristic of the commenting practices of the early modern period: the spectrum was much broadened, and scholars constantly added “new” classical texts to the list of “illustrious” authors that received commentaries. The new commentaries significantly contributed to the reception of these authors; they focused attention on them, added to their importance, and guided the readers to a new understanding of them. This is certainly true for Tacitus (contributions by Kaiser and De Landtsheer), Pomponius Mela (by Suter Meyer), Pliny the Elder (by de Beer and Iliushechkina), Juvenal (by Gellérfi), and Claudius Claudianus (by Berlincourt). In the second half of the 16th century not only did a revival of the largely forgotten Tacitus come into being, but so did an enormous boom that led to the phenomenon of early modern Tacitism. Tacitus was used as the central author in vivid debates on politics, especially with regard to the foundation of the monarchy and the attitude of the ruler toward changing religious matters. Lipsius’s new and more correct editions (contribution by De Landtsheer) paved the way for the new role Tacitus was about to play in 16th- and 17th-century intellectual life.

The same goes, *mutatis mutandis*, for the geographer Pomponius Mela, and Pliny’s geography, botany, and zoology in the *Naturalis historia*. Ermolao Barbaro’s critical commentary on Pliny’s text, *Castigationes Pliniana*e (1492), paved the way for a new and much better understanding of Pliny, especially in the above-mentioned disciplines.¹⁰ It led to a revival of Pliny

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Davies M., “Making Sense of Pliny in the Quattrocento”, *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995) 240–257.

as a botanical author (de Beer) and a zoologist (Iliushechkina). Pomponius Mela was hardly known in the Middle Ages, but via their commentaries Joachim Vadianus and other scholars introduced him as a serious *auctoritas* in 16th- and 17th-century intellectual life, which is especially remarkable because the 16th century was the age of new, important geographical discoveries – the Americas, of course, were absent from the Roman geographer's description of the earth. Between 1460 and 1520, Juvenal's *Satires*, similar to Martial's *Epigrammata*, was one of the favourite texts upon which to comment. Much like Martial, Juvenal was presented as a main transmitter of authentic Latin and as an important source for a newly discovered quality: antiquity's cultural alterity, or rather titillating and sparkling exoticism. Martial's and Juvenal's poems became a hot battlefield for scholars who excelled in authentic Latin. As Gellérfi demonstrates, Fonzio's forgotten commentary testifies to that feature: in his commentary, Fonzio battles constantly with his fellow commentators on Juvenal, especially Giorgio Merula, Giorgio Valla, and Angelo Poliziano.

All contributions offer in-depth analyses of the methods, strategies, and forms the single commentators used, and the focuses of attention, goals, and audience(s) they had in mind. Together, they present a picture of the various ways in which the classical authors were transformed by their commentaries over the course of the early modern period, and how they were adapted to various applications and usages that – at least partly – greatly differed from what the classical authors had once envisaged. When Tacitus wrote his ethnographical treatise *Germania*, he had no idea that it would one day serve to develop a new identity for a German nation that would wish to trace its origins back to classical antiquity (contribution by Kaiser); nor could Horace guess that his poems would one day function either as a school text used to teach Latin to non-native speakers, or as a founding manifesto for advanced German humanism used as a means to oppose the chauvinism of Italian humanists.

Nevertheless, these last two functions were the ways in which Jakob Locher transformed Horace and adapted him in his commentary to the German audience, consisting both of schoolboys and of grown-up humanists, as Christoph Pieper demonstrates in his contribution. Horace would have been at least as surprised to hear that his text was transformed by a commentary in a textbook meant to teach university students dialectic, logic, and rhetoric, as Floris Verhaart demonstrates in his article on Pierre Gaultier Chabot. Chabot's commentaries, in fact, open up an even larger field of applications that reflect both the Ramist focus on logical, methodical, and philosophical thinking, and the more general humanist

ideal of the commentary as a comprehensive manual on as many aspects of the *litterae humaniores* as possible. A special case is Horace's *Epistola ad Pisones*. Although the work clearly puts to the fore Horace's aesthetic principles and advises poets on what to do – or, better, what to avoid – the Roman poet would never have envisaged that his work would function as a manual on rhetoric. Nevertheless, this was the way in which the so-called *Ars poetica* was explained by the majority of commentators. But Horace also would not have dreamt of his *Ars poetica* being used as a means to teach encyclopaedian or antiquarian knowledge to university students. Nevertheless, as Marc Laureys shows, this was one of the most important goals Petrus Nannius, professor at the *Collegium trilingue* in Leuven, had in mind with his commentary on the *Ars poetica*.

In Pliny's case, the important innovations in Renaissance medical botany did not lead to an abandonment of the ancient text as an outdated and scientifically insignificant relic of the past; on the contrary, they initiated a new revival of Pliny which instrumentalized the classical text as a means to present the new findings. As Susanna de Beer demonstrates, scholars with botanical expertise started to challenge, correct, and above all to supplement Pliny's botanical texts with new knowledge. De Beer analyzes exactly how this transformation of classical scholarship worked in practice. She argues that 'the role of ancient texts was transformed in such a way that it could still meet the requirements of the botanical discipline, its practitioners and its beneficiaries, by providing the organizational principle of botanical knowledge and lending authorization to medical botany as an autonomous discipline in general, and to the related scholarly competences and commercial benefits in particular'.¹¹

For the commentaries on Pliny's zoology, similar observations are relevant. The discovery of the New World did not mean that Pliny was principally regarded as outdated. On the contrary, early modern zoologists tried to explain the new discoveries by linking them to Pliny's text. Some commentators of Pliny tried to harmonize empirical observations with the old standard work, and to authorize the new empirical data with his *auctoritas*. One of the most important works of early modern zoology, Conrad Gesner's *Historia animalium*, is in fact an homage to Pliny, and in a sense also a *commentary on Pliny and his sources*. The modern author, Gesner, does his best to be regarded as "the new Pliny".

¹¹ See de Beer's contribution in this volume.

Book Illustrations as Commentary

Two contributions analyze the commenting functions of images (Pieper and Karl Enenkel). Pieper deals with one of the groundbreaking works of early modern book illustration, Grüninger's and Locher's edition of Horace (1498). In this edition the images are used to authorize and legitimize both the classical author (Horace) and his modern commentator (Locher) by closely connecting them with each other, if not blurring them. There are a couple of images where it is not clear whether the classical author or his commentator is being depicted. Horace gets the attributes of the commentator, who had been crowned as a *poet laureate* by the Roman King Maximilian, whereas the commentator – with the same attributes – appears several times as the “author”. This use of the images is parallel to the commentator's effort to legitimize German humanism as an important cultural power, and a cultural movement that is at least on the same level as Italian humanism.

Enenkel's contribution analyzes the ways in which woodcut illustrations – in combination with other paratexts – are used in Heinrich Steiner's edition of Johann Neuber's and Freiherr Johann von Schwarzenberg's (+1528) German translation of Cicero's *De officiis* (1530). Enenkel demonstrates that Heinrich Steiner and Johann von Schwarzenberg have transformed Cicero's treatise into a (proto)emblem book, *On virtue and civil service*. This is especially interesting since – according to the *communis opinio* – the first emblem book appeared only a year later, in 1531: Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*, from the same Augsburg publisher (Steiner). In Alciato's *Emblematum libellus* – different from *On virtue and civil service* – the images were neither invented nor intended by its author. In *On virtue and civil service* as a standard, each “emblem” has (1) introductory German verses composed by Johann von Schwarzenberg, usually between two and six lines, (2) a woodcut *pictura* invented by either Johann von Schwarzenberg or Heinrich Steiner, and (3) a prose text consisting of a certain short, well-chosen passage of Cicero's translated *De officiis*, singled out by Johann von Schwarzenberg and consisting mostly of two or three paragraphs of the modern Cicero edition (i.e. approximately one or one and a half page of Steiner's folio edition). Johann von Schwarzenberg did his best to present the emblematic prose passages of Cicero's *De officiis* as textual units. In order to achieve this goal, he deleted certain sentences of Cicero's text, such as connective remarks, and also added explanatory sentences (‘glosses’). In cases in which von Schwarzenberg was the inventor of the image, the image is always to be read in close combination

with the German verses. The title, the verses, and the image all reflect on Cicero's prose text, and they present a certain interpretation of it. All three devices aim to adapt the translated text of *De officiis* to the interests of 16th-century German readers. It is interesting to see that their interests and intellectual horizon differ from those of scholarly humanism. It is remarkable that the images play an important role in this process of transformation. They guide the processes of textual meditation and the storage of the philosophical contents in memory. This means that the specific tendency or interpretation offered by the images heavily influences the understanding and application of Cicero's *De officiis* by German readers.

Of course, in a collection of essays, not all aspects of early modern comments can be dealt with. Much still remains to be discovered and explained. Research in commentaries naturally implies a lot of research in detail, and therefore it is a lot of work. Being well aware of that fact, we hope that the contributions of this volume may provoke further research in this intriguing field.

Monasterii, Kalendis Maiis MMXIII
Karl Enenkel

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POETRY

HORACE AND RAMIST DIALECTICS:
PIERRE GAULTIER CHABOT'S (1516–1598?) COMMENTARIES¹

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SUMMARY

In this paper, I will discuss the commentaries that the French humanist Pierre Gaultier Chabot devoted to Horace's poetry. Chabot was educated in Paris by Omer Talon and Pierre de la Ramée and became tutor to the grandchildren of the chancellor of France Michel de l'Hôpital (d. 1573). In his commentaries on Horace, the *Expositio analytica* (1582) and the *Praelectiones* (1587), Chabot came up with a threefold approach in which dialectic, grammar and rhetoric were strictly separated as three consecutive phases through which poetry supposedly comes into being and with the help of which poetry should therefore also be studied. The contribution locates Chabot's work within the context of other Ramist writings and commentaries such as Jean Amariton's (d. 1590) commentary on Horace's first epistle (published in 1553). It will be argued that Chabot's work is an interesting combination of on the one hand Ramist orthodoxy with its focus on structure, method and the teaching of philosophy and logic through reading classical texts and, on the other hand, the more general humanist ideal of the commentary as a comprehensive manual to as many aspects of the *litterae humaniores* as possible.

1. *Introduction*

The twentieth century has witnessed the rediscovery of Ramism as a major cultural force, in the first instance thanks to the works of Samuel Elliot Morrison and Walter Ong.² These studies and especially the valuable contribution by Nelly Bruyère have focused on Ramus as a writer

¹ This contribution originated in my research in the research program *The New Management of Knowledge in the Early Modern Period: The Transmission of Classical Latin Literature via Neo-Latin Commentaries*, directed by Karl Enenkel, and funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). I would like to thank Laurence Brockliss (Magdalen College, Oxford) and Benjamin Cartlidge (Trinity College, Oxford) for checking and correcting my English.

² Morrison S.E., *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge MA: 1935); Ong W.J., *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge MA: 1958).

of textbooks and have shown how the thought of this Paris professor of history and eloquence gradually developed from his work as a young master of arts until his violent death on 26 August 1572 as one of the victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.³ From the 1980s onwards attention has also been paid to Ramus as a commentator of classical texts as well as his influence on commentaries written by his followers.⁴ Within the context of this latter group, I would like to devote this paper to the work of Pierre Gaultier Chabot whose experience and work as a teacher of the poetry of Horace culminated in his *Expositio analytica* (1582) and *Praelectiones* (1587), two commentaries on the whole of this poet's work. Although Chabot's method and thought were not as innovative as he himself claimed, the ambitious scale on which he tried to merge Ramist teachings and a commentary on a work of classical Latin literature make him an interesting figure among Ramus's pupils and followers.

I will argue that Chabot was a scholar who operated on the cross-roads of several traditions and currents in his own days, by combining a Ramist yearning after method and structure with a broader humanist ideal of the commentary as a comprehensive manual that should bring its users into contact with as many aspects of the *litterae humaniores* as possible in order to reach a better understanding of these *litterae humaniores*. It is for this reason that Chabot and his work deserve more attention than they have so far received.⁵ In this paper I will discuss Chabot's life and the *Expositio analytica* and *Praelectiones* within the broader intellectual context in which he played his part. I will pay particular attention to the ways in which this scholar and teacher tried to produce a commentary on Horace that not only explains the text of this author but is at the same time a vehicle for the transmission of and education in Ramist ideas.

³ Bruyère N., *Méthode et dialectique dans l'oeuvre de la Ramée. Renaissance et âge classique* (Paris: 1984).

⁴ See e.g. Magnien M., "La satire au Collège des Presles: le commentaire sur Perse d'Antoine Fouquelin (1555)", in Meerhoff C.G. – Moisan J.-C. (eds.), *Autour de Ramus: Texte, théorie, commentaire* (Quebec: 1997) 269–303; Mack P., "Ramus Reading: The Commentaries on Cicero's *Consular Orations* and Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998) 111–141.

⁵ Chabot's life and work are very summarily treated in Magnien, "La satire au Collège des Presles" 291 note 45; Bietenholz P., *Basle and France in the XVIth century* (Geneva: 1971) 206–207; Norton G.P., *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva: 1984) 67–81.

2. *Commentaries on Horace within the Ramist Tradition before Chabot:*
Jean Amariton and His Work on Horace's First Epistle

Peter Ramus (1515–1572) was one of the first and most influential critics of Aristotelian philosophy and the traditional scholastic system. He rejected the medieval approach of logic as a science concerned with the rules of right reasoning and instead insisted that it was merely the practical art of locating and marshalling evidence. Like other humanists before him, Ramus stressed the cultivation of language as the core of educational reform with him. His views brought Ramus into conflict with more traditional members of the Parisian intellectual milieu and in his *Pro philosophica Parisiensis Academiae disciplina oratio* (1551), he defended his teaching methods against his critics and spoke out in favour of an education that was firmly based on reading classical Greek and Latin authors. In the words of Peter Mack who has given a short paraphrase of its contents in his article on Ramus as commentator:

Each half of the school day begins with an hour's lecture on a classical text, followed by two hours of studying and repetition and two more of argument and practice. The first three years are devoted to grammar, the fourth to rhetoric, the fifth to dialectic and the final two and a half years to ethics, mathematics and natural science, working from classical texts in each case.⁶

Ramus's main goal in writing this *oratio* was to defend his focus on rhetoric and dialectic as a means both to understand a text and to produce one's own compositions by imitation.⁷ The textbooks or manuals, such as the *Dialectica*, and the commentaries, such as the one on Cicero's consular orations and Virgil's *Georgics* and *Eclogues*, that Ramus wrote were intended to be employed in close interaction with one another. The textbooks provided the pupils with the first preparatory step by giving them the tools to read, interpret and imitate classical authors. The second step, namely reading classical texts with the help of a commentary, served as a source for studying logic, as well as the confirmation and exercise (usually referred to as *exercitatio* or *usus*) of the lessons the pupils had learned from their manuals. As Mack remarks, Ramus's is a very humanist reform in this respect, since the manuals, such as the medieval *Summulae logicales*

⁶ Mack, "Ramus Reading" 112. Mack paraphrases Petrus Ramus, *Pro philosophica Parisiensis Academiae disciplina oratio* (Paris, Matthieu David: 1551), in *Scholae in liberales artes* (Basel, Eusebius Episcopus: 1569), cols. 1009–1010, 1012–1014, 1017–1020.

⁷ *Pro philosophica disciplina oratio*, cols. 999, 1014–1016, 1024–1030, 1044–1045.

by Peter of Spain, that in earlier days had often been studied on their own as the main subject in the educational curriculum, were now turned into a preparation for reading classical Latin and Greek literature.⁸ This insight should make us aware of the significance of commentaries on classical texts within the Ramist tradition and as a consequence the importance of studying these commentaries to get a better understanding of the practice of Ramist education. It is within this context that the commentaries by Ramus himself, but also by Amariton and Chabot should be seen.⁹

Ramus held the strong conviction that any text whether in prose or poetry could be analysed with the help of the instruments that he had taken from predecessors, such as Rudolph Agricola, and further developed. He himself lectured and published commentaries on both prose texts and poetry. Even before these works were published, Jean Amariton (d. 1590), who had studied under Ramus published a small volume containing an edition of and commentary on Horace's first epistle in 1553, based on his teaching experience as a master of arts at the Collège des Presles.¹⁰ In the preface to his edition, he writes that he decided to lecture on the first epistle of Horace because this author seemed particularly useful due to the maturity of his style and the seriousness and usefulness of the work's philosophical content and *sententiae*.¹¹

Amariton's pupils were in fact so enthusiastic that they began to learn these *sententiae* by heart and asked their teacher to publish his comments ('observationes'). Amariton partly complied by publishing his commentary on the first epistle and would later consider the publication of the rest of his work, which, however, would never take place.

The fact that this commentary was both a product of class room practice and intended for the use of pupils becomes clear also from this commentary's preface addressed to 'studious youth' ('ad studiosam iuventutem'). Horace may not be an easy read, as Amariton explained to his young readers, due to the difficulty and obscurity of his style, but the poet

⁸ Mack, "Ramus Reading" 112.

⁹ On Ramus and education, also see Reid S.J. – Wilson E.A. (eds.), *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts* (Farnham – Burlington: 2011); Meerhoff C.G. – Magnien M. (eds.), *Ramus et l'université* (Paris: 2004).

¹⁰ On the life and works of Amariton see Girard P.-F., "La jeunesse de Cujas", *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 39 (1916) 429–504, 590–627; Fournier P.-F., *Jean Amariton de Nonette, professeur au collège de Presles, avocat au parlement de Paris, mort en 1590. Sa vie, ses ouvrages, sa famille* (Clermont Ferrand: 1933); *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris: 1936) vol. VI, cols. 426–427; Desgraves. L., *Élie Vinet. Humaniste de Bordeaux (1509–87). Vie, bibliographie, correspondance, bibliothèque* (Geneva: 1977) 122, 129.

¹¹ Amariton, *commentariorum liber primus*, fols. Aiii r–Aiii v.

had a good reason for this – he only wanted to be understood by wise and very intelligent readers ('sapientes'), while he despised the masses. Horace's profound and broad knowledge of e.g. history, jurisprudence, natural history, and ethics, was of great use for important modern authors such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Peter Ramus and Joachim Du Bellay.¹² Finally, towards the end of this volume we also find a number of epigrams, written by his pupils and addressed to both the users of the commentary and Amariton himself. An example of this is written by Dionysius Brevidentius. Dionysius should probably be identified as Denis Brevedent (d. 1573), son of Jacques Brevedent (d. 1580), who was *conseiller* at parliament from 1537–1560. Later in life, Denis Brevedent himself became abbot of La Trappe and canon of Rouen.¹³

There are no verses in Horace that are lacking in contents or are just melodious nonsense./ It is the speech and council of an old man./ You whosoever long to have the title of 'wise man', read him./ Is his brevity obscure? Amariton explains it.

Non versus inopes rerum, nugaeque canorae

In Flacco: sermo est consiliumque senis.

Hunc lege quisquis aves prudentis nomen habere.

Obscura est brevis? Explicat Amariton.¹⁴

When turning to the main text of the commentary itself, we see that Amariton first tries to convey the message of Horace's epistle by means of a *quaestio* – 'Horatius debet philosophiae incumbere', 'Horace must apply himself to philosophy' – buttressed by a number of arguments:

- 1) as an old man he should put an end to his amusements;
- 2) he is held by a longing for philosophy;
- 3) through philosophy one can find salubrious remedies against all illnesses of the mind and confusions.¹⁵

¹² Ibidem, fol. <A viii> r–v: 'Est autem in Horatii scriptis praeter disserendi subtilitatem, rerum innumerabilium: antiquitatis, historiae, virtutum, iuris et legum, naturae denique utilis et pernecessaria cognitio, qua instructi multi illustres et excellentes nostrae aetatis homines in omni fere disciplinarum genere suae arti lumen attulerunt. Hinc enim Iacobus Faber Stapulensis ethicam, Petrus Ramus logicam, Audomarus Talaues rhetoricam, Franciscus Duarenus, Balduinus iurisprudentiam, Petrus Ronsardus, Ioachim Bellaius, Ianus Antonius Baisius poesim Gallicam magna cum sua laude ad communem omnium utilitatem illustravere'.

¹³ Carroll S., *Noble Power During French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affiliation and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge: 1998) 270.

¹⁴ Amariton, *commentariorum liber primus*, fol. <F iii>v.

¹⁵ Ibidem, fol. B <i> r: '1) ludrica sibi iam seni omittenda; 2) se philosophiae studio teneri; 3) a philosophia contra omnes animi morbos et perturbationes salutaria remedia peti'.

Amariton thus outlines the structure of the rest of his commentary and discusses these three arguments one by one. At the beginning of each part he first reformulates the argument and turns it into a syllogism. In this way the first argument becomes:

- A. All old men should put an end to their amusements,
- B. I am an old man,
- C. (*conclusio*): Therefore, I must put an end to my amusements.¹⁶

This syllogism is then further broken down in the discussion of single lemmata, which usually start with the identification and discussion of a figure of style or a part of the syllogism. On the words 'my years, my mind, are not the same' in *Epistles* I, 4, Amariton comments:¹⁷

The assumption is here discussed from contradicting elements (*ex repugnantibus*). The young age has finished, during which I used to write lyric poetry, nor does my spirit find delight in those things, which cheered me up as a young man. Cornelius Gallus shows in his first elegy that these are the arguments of old age: '[...] The boy exults in levity, the old man in gravity./ The dignity of a young man remains between these two'.

Assumptio ex repugnantibus hic disputatur: Effluxit illa iuvenilis aetas, qua versus Lyricos scribere solebam, nec rebus iis nunc delectatur animus, quae me iuvenem recreabant. Ea autem senectutis argumenta esse significat Cornelius Gallus¹⁸ elegia prima: '[...] Exultat levitate puer, gravitate senectus./ Inter utrumque manens stat iuvenile decus'.¹⁹

One might think that the rhetorical emphasis in a lemma such as the one quoted above would push any other information to a marginal position. As becomes apparent from the following lemma (on the name of Veianius), Amariton, however, does in fact devote much attention to giving extra background information:

Veianius] The proposition is indicated by means of a twofold similitude. This is the full sentence of the first one: as an old gladiator stops his exercises with weapons, in the same shall any old man put an end to his amusements. Veianius, however, a noble gladiator, in the end left for his farmland

¹⁶ Ibidem, fol. <B ii>v.

A. 'Omnes senes ludicra debent ommittere:

B. Ego sum senex:

C. Debeo igitur ludicra ommittere'.

¹⁷ 'Non eadem est aetas, non mens', Horace, *Epistulae* I, 4. Transl. by H.R. Fairclough (Cambridge MA: 1970).

¹⁸ Maximianus, *Elegiae* 1, 105–106.

¹⁹ Amariton, *commentariorum liber primus*, fol. B iiiii r.

after having consecrated his weapons to Hercules Fundanus, as Porphyrio says. He is posited here in fact as a synecdoche. The Romans had this custom that after peace had been established a demobilised soldier would hang their weapons in the cupolas and doorposts of temples and dedicate it to some god. This is what Ovid is hinting at in the seventh elegy of the fourth book of his elegies: 'When the long-serving soldier is no longer useful/ He dedicates the weapons he carried to the ancient Lares'. This place indicates that this custom was also observed in the case of gladiators, if, as Porphyrio says, Veianius is the name of a gladiator. If, however, you should say that a soldier is indicated, the case itself will not be less clear. Hence similes of this kind are often chosen, as in the place of Naso which was given above, and in Propertius book two, elegy 25: 'The old soldiers sleeps by his deposed weapons'.²⁰

A little bit further on in the commentary, we even find a discussion about the functioning of the human body:

For the groin is situated between the hips and the pubic area in the lowest part of the belly in the human body, as Celsus says, towards the end of chapter one, book four. The groin is moved and stirred as small balloons, when a horse is struggling through difficulty of breathing. For the lungs, which have porousness that is very apt for drawing breath, both contract when breathing out and expand when breathing in: whence it so happens that the diaphragm gets stirred and all parts that are situated in his abdominal cavity are moved at the same time. This place therefore has this full meaning: One should not use an old horse in a racing course, lest he lose his breath and fall in the middle of the course in a nasty way.²¹

²⁰ Amariton, *commentariorum liber primus*, fol. <B iiii> v: 'Veianius] Propositio duplici similitudine significatur. Prioris haec plena sententia est: ut senex gladiator armorum exercitationem deserit, sic quivis senex ludicra omittit. Veianius autem nobilis gladiator, post multas palmas, Herculi Fundano, ut ait Porphyrio, consecratis armis tandem in agellum se contulit. Hic vero synecdochicōs pro quovis gladiatore ponitur. Erat autem Romanis hic mos, ut parta pace emeritus miles arma sua in tholis et postibus templorum suspenderet et alicui deo dicaret. Id quod Ovidius significat elegia septima lib<ro> 2. *Trist<ium>* [sic, this passage is in fact Ovid, *Tristia* IV, 7, 21–22]: "Miles ut emeritus non est satis utilis armis,/ Ponit ad antiquos quae tulit arma lares". Quem morem in gladiatoribus etiam observatum fuisse hic locus indicat, si, quod ait Porphyrio, Veianius gladiatoris nomen sit. Quod si militem significari dicas, res ipsa non minus intelligetur. Illinc enim eiusmodi similitudines frequenter desumuntur, ut in notato Nasonis loco et apud Propertium, lib. 2. *Eleg<iarum>* 25 [i.e. Propertius, *Elegiae* II, 25, 5]: "Miles depositis annosus secubat armis".

²¹ Amariton, *commentariorum liber primus*, fol. <B vi> r–v: 'Sunt autem ilia inter coxas et pubem imo ventere posita in homine, ait Celsus, in fine capitis I, lib<ro> 4. Ducuntur autem ilia et agitantur tanquam folliculi, cum equus difficultate respirandi laborat. Pulmones enim, in quibus inest ad hauriendum spiritum aptissima raritas, tum se contrahunt aspirantes, tum in respiratu dilatant: unde fit ut διάφραγμα pulsetur, et omnes, quae huic in ventre haerent, partes una agitentur. Hic ergo locus hanc habet sententiam: in cursibus equo sene non esse utendum, ne eum spiritus deficiat et in medio curriculo turpiter cadat'.

Thus, Amariton manages to discuss a wide range of subjects and authors, though admittedly in these examples, too, the primary position is taken by points of rhetorical interest and further background information often serves to illustrate or explain either a figure of style or one of Horace's arguments.

A similar strategy of writing a commentary and transmitting information can be seen in Antoine Fouquelin's edition of Persius's *Satires* published in 1555.²² Just like Amariton did in his comments on Horace, this work, which was also the fruit of its author's teaching experiences as a young magister at the Collège de Presles, guides its user through the classical text by first formulating a *quaestio*, then subdividing this into arguments and syllogisms and finally discussing detailed issues by means of lemmas. In this way, pupils could see the theory put into practice which they had learned from Ramist manuals on dialectic and rhetoric. The extra background information such as the lemma on Veianus helps to reach this goal, as it serves further to clarify the way rhetorical and dialectical features function within Horace's text.

Although Amariton's commentary was too modest in its scope to have a serious influence on the content of Chabot's interpretations of Horace, Amariton apparently helped with the realisation of the *Praelectiones* by providing his colleague with advice and proofreading his work.²³ With this background in mind we should now turn to Chabot's work in order to see just how much more ambitious he was both in the sheer amount of original textual material that he discussed and in the depth and range of comments and information that he gave.

3. *Chabot's Life: A Biography Defined by Horace's Work*

The main source we have for the life of Pierre Gaultier is a biography published by Jean Jacques Boissard in his *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustrium* (Frankfurt, Theodor de Bry: 1597). A year later, the printing press of André Wechel produced Chabot's life in a separate volume, preceded

²² Antonii Foquellini Veromandui, in Auli Persii Flacci Satyras commentarius (Paris, André Wechel: 1555). For more information on Fouquelin and his work as an educator, see Ong W.J., "Fouquelin's French Rhetoric and the Ramist Vernacular Tradition", *Philology* 51,2 (1954) 127–142; Meerhoff C.G., "Pédagogie et Rhétorique Ramistes: Le Cas Fouquelin", *Rhetorica* 5,4 (1987) 419–429.

²³ *Praelectiones*, fol. <† 3>v.

by a dedicatory letter from Pierre himself to Paul Hurault de l'Hospital, one of his pupils and nephew to the former chancellor of France Michel de l'Hospital. This text, which has served as the basis for later life descriptions, such as Moreri's lemma on this humanist in his *Grand dictionnaire historique*, tells us that Pierre Gaultier Chabot was born in Saint-Loup, a small village in the modern department Charente-Maritime, in 1516 as the eldest son of Pierre Gaultier and Jeanne Chabot who are described as *ael-eopolae* ('merchants in olive oil').²⁴ After a youth that was mainly spent with learning Latin grammar and doing 'domestic chores', Pierre left for Poitou in order to learn Greek. His stay there, however, ended after he was called back to his native Saint-Loup as a teacher. It was only years later (1546) that he managed to free himself from the apparently rather tight embrace of this village community and moved to Paris, where he was further educated by Omer Talon and Petrus Ramus.²⁵ About three and a half years later, Chabot obtained the title of *magister philosophiae* and began a career as a private teacher for the sons of wealthy families. He was soon brought to the attention of Michel de l'Hospital who asked him to become the tutor to his grandsons. Chabot remained in the service of this powerful family until 1580.

The final decades of his life were devoted to the preparation of his commentaries, which will be discussed below. The dedicatory letter of his biography addressed to Paul Hurault de l'Hospital still carries Chabot's name and gives us a *terminus post quem* for his death: 25 June 1598.

I have not been able to find any explicit mention of Chabot's religious convictions – Catholic or Protestant – though for a number of reasons it seems plausible that he either grew up as a Protestant or converted to Protestantism later in life. The first of these reasons is his continued sympathy for both the person and teachings of Peter Ramus.²⁶ An even stronger indication is that the 'civilis Galliae discordia' was one of the reasons why he fled Paris and had his *Praelectiones* published in Basle, a well-known safe haven for Protestants in the sixteenth century.²⁷ Finally, Chabot sometimes expresses views in his work that seem typical for a

²⁴ Louis Moreri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* (second edition Paris, Denys Mariette: 1707) vol. II, 146.

²⁵ In other words, Chabot was 30, a very advanced age, particularly in sixteenth-century France for a university student.

²⁶ Cf. Tuck R., *Philosophy and Government 1572–1651* (Cambridge: 1993) 25: 'There is no doubt that Ramism appealed principally to Protestants'.

²⁷ Chabot, *Praelectiones* fol. (:): 4 r. For the reputation of Basle in this respect cf. Grell O.P., 'Merchants and Ministers: The Foundations of International Calvinism', in Pettegree A. – Duke A. – Lewis G. (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge: 1994) 255.

Protestant. Regarding the education and development of Christian youth he states, for example, that youngsters should receive their education and training in morals and life only from the Prophets and Apostles of God, a position which seems to agree with a Protestant focus on Holy Scripture as the only source of faith.²⁸

Chabot's scholarly production centered around the work of one author, Horace, to whom he referred as 'our poet' ('poeta noster').²⁹ During the final years of his life he combined the Ramist education he had received in Paris with decades of teaching experience for the publication of two commentaries on the whole of the work of this lyric poet: the *Expositio analytica et brevis* (1582) and the *Praelectiones* (1587–1593). Chabot had plans to revise and enlarge his work for a new edition, but was prevented from realising this project by his death. His notes were collected by Johann Jacob Grasser (1579–1627) and used for a posthumous enlarged edition. Horace's poetry was, in fact, so closely linked with Chabot's life that Boissard uses the poet's and commentator's work together in his biography to illustrate a number of mainly moral issues in connection with the commentator's life.

This happens, for instance, when his moment of birth is discussed. We are told that Chabot was not interested in finding out the exact hour of his birth as this would only leave open the chance that later in life he would be overwhelmed 'by the anxious desire to visit and consult a soothsayer'.³⁰ Boissard approves of this reserve towards fortune-telling and comes up with a long sequence of authorities to buttress his point of view. Among the sources to which he refers Chabot and his *Praelectiones* figure very prominently, more specifically reference is made to Chabot's remarks on *Ode* I, 11 in which Horace tells Leuconoe not to enquire with a fortune-teller about her future and simply live in the moment. Chabot argues also with the help of a long sequence of classical authorities that it is indeed very wrong to resort to divination: 'under no circumstance should one turn to such men who predict the future'.³¹ Another aspect of Chabot's life which receives a similar treatment from his biographer is, for example, his modest family background. In this case, reference is made to Horace's *Satire* I, 6 with Chabot's annotations to argue that nobility does not stem from one's illustrious parentage but rather from one's character.

²⁸ *Praelectiones* 378.

²⁹ *Epistola Petri Gualterii* 4.

³⁰ *Ibidem* 25.

³¹ Cf. Chabot, *Praelectiones* 72–73.

Chabot's life as presented by Boissard was thus quite literally defined by his work on Horace's poetry. The commentator, the classical author's work and the commentary are thus merged into one mutually confirming, educational whole from which the reader can draw moral lessons and insights.

4. *'Towards a Better Way of Understanding, Assessing and Explaining the Authors': The Theory Behind Chabot's Commentaries*

When Chabot published his *Expositio analytica* of Horace's poetry he already had a clear conception of his *Praelectiones* and had probably already written most of it. He gives many cross references between the two commentaries and conceived of them as two complementary parts of one educational programme.³² For this reason, I will treat them as such both in my discussion of the commentaries themselves and of the theory underlying them.

As Chabot explains in his *Praelectiones*, he first wanted to bring out an 'analytical exposition' that would serve as a kind of preannouncement for the larger *Praelectiones*.³³ This edition was published in 1582 by Gilles Beys in Paris. The *Praelectiones* themselves then would provide a further elaboration of the basis that had been placed by the *Expositio*.

The title page serves, as so often in early modern books, to attract the attention of potential buyers. It also briefly states what Chabot's main goals were as it announces the publication of the *Praelectiones* and the usefulness of this exposition both to 'express the meaning of the poet and to help the memory of the reader'.³⁴

The underlying explication is carefully contextualised as an important first step in a child's education. The primary reason why we read poets, according to Chabot, is to learn their views ('sententiae') and to adopt them in life.³⁵ In order to help in putting this lesson into practice, the youthful reader should daily practice and exercise his sense of logic, for it is logical

³² A very striking and informative cross reference is made, for instance, in the *Praelectiones* (*Analysis dialectica* to Ode I, 1, page 1) where Chabot apologises for offering information that has already been treated in his *Expositio*, 'so that it may seem a superfluous repetition', Chabot then points out that material which had been treated in the *Expositio* in a 'more succinct' way would now be explained in a 'more elaborate and clearer' way.

³³ Chabot, *Praelectiones*, fol. (:) 4 r.

³⁴ Chabot, *Expositio*, title page.

³⁵ Ibidem, fol. <*v>r.

analysis that helps us to see what should be considered when planning anything. A good exercise with an eye to gaining experience in logic was to read Horace's work and an even better way was to read it with the help of Chabot's analysis.³⁶ The poets, both Latin and Greek and Horace in particular, also were a treasure trove of knowledge about a wide range of subjects from ethics to politics and home economics. Classical poetry as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge will be an important aspect of the *Praelectiones*, as Chabot announces.³⁷ Chabot thus turns logic into a preliminary step in education and positions his own *Expositio* as a perfect manual before moving on to the larger *Praelectiones*.

After the publication of his *Analysis brevis* Chabot faced a number of problems as he tells his readers of the *Praelectiones*. The first of these was the death of the projected publisher of his new commentary, Martin Lejeune. The trouble of the French Civil War and obtrusive creditors forced Chabot to leave Paris for Basle. Here he was brought into contact with Leonard Osten who in 1587 published his final 'threefold commentary'.³⁸

In the preface of his edition Chabot takes his time to give a comprehensive explanation of his educational ideas. His starting point is the question how boys should be instructed in order to reach a proper education ('de ratione informandi pueros ad humanitatem').³⁹ Chabot considered the role of the commentator and the practice of reading and dealing with a classical text in general in a very broad and comprehensive sense and he quotes a passage from Julius Caesar Scaliger's *De causis linguae Latinae* (1540):

The task of interpreting authors is not just one of the grammarian, but of the wise man. Reading orators, poets and historians comprises the various arts and thus belongs not to the intellectuals, but to the veritable artists and craftsmen.⁴⁰

With the point of view, that interpreting a text involves much more than just grammar, Chabot places himself in a larger trend of reflections on textual criticism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As Angelo Poliziano formulated it in his *Miscellanea* (1498), those who take on the

³⁶ Ibidem, fol. *<i>r-v.

³⁷ Ibidem, fol. <* v> r.

³⁸ Chabot, *Praelectiones*, fol. (:) 4 r.

³⁹ Ibidem, fol. <() 2> r.

⁴⁰ Julius Caesar Scaliger, *De causis linguae Latinae* (Lyon, Sebastian Gryphus: 1540) I, 1, 3. Quoted in *Praelectiones*, fol. †<i>v: 'Officium interpretandorum auctorum non est sane grammatici, sed sapientis. Est enim oratorum, poetarum atque historicorum lectio dif-ferta variis artibus atque scientiis, non ad ipsos literatos potius quam ad veros artifices pertinens'.

interpretation of poets should come to grips with 'all those authors and sources that together form the circle of learning, which we call Encyclopedia' ('orbis doctrinae, quae vocamus Encyclia').⁴¹ The key to this universal knowledge is, according to Chabot, the threefold approach he offers in his *Praelectiones*, consisting of dialectic, grammar and rhetoric successively. This distinction ultimately goes back to the *trivium* within the liberal arts curriculum. Outside the Ramist tradition, a similar curriculum had been proposed by Rudolph Agricola in his *De inventione dialectica*:

At the beginning we said that all language has the object that someone should make someone else share in his or her thoughts. Therefore it is apparent that there should be three things in every speech: the speaker, the hearer and the subject-matter. Consequently there are three points to be observed in speaking: that what the speaker intends should be understood, that the person addressed should listen avidly, and that what is said should be plausible and should be believed. Grammar, which passes on the method of speaking correctly, clearly teaches the first. The second is taught by rhetoric, which provides embellishments and elegance of language, and all the bait for capturing ears. Dialectic consequently seems to claim for itself what is left, that is, to speak convincingly on whatever matter is included in a speech.⁴²

Agricola thus gives each part of the *trivium* a particular function linking it to a particular aspect of a speech, story or other text being told. Chabot will build on this tripartite distinction as expounded by predecessors like Agricola to give his own highly formalised ideas about these three *artes*.⁴³

⁴¹ Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (Florence, Antonio Miscomini: 1489; ed. Basle, Nicolaus Episcopius: 1553) 229. Quoted in Vanek K., *Ars Corrigendi in der frühen Neuzeit: Studien zur Geschichte der Textkritik* (Berlin: 2007) 131. For more information on this current in Renaissance thought on textual criticism, see *ibidem* 126 ff.

⁴² Rudolph Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* (Cologne, Johann Gymnich 1539; repr. Nieuwkoop: 1967) 192. Quoted and translated by Mack P., *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: 2011) 61: 'Orationem omnem initio diximus in id paratam esse, ut animi sui participem quisque faceret alium. Tria ergo constat in omni oratione posse oportere, eum qui dicit, eum qui audit, et rem de qua habetur oratio, tresque proinde in dicendo observationes: ut percipi possit quid sibi velit qui dicit; ut cupide audiat cui dicitur; ut probabile sit, habeaturque fides ei, quod dicitur. Primum grammaticae docet, quae emendat et aperte loquendi viam tradit. Proximum rhetorice, quae ornatum orationis cultumque et omnes capiendarum aurium illecebras invenit. Quod reliquum igitur est videbitur sibi dialectice vindicare, probabiliter dicere de qualibet re, quae deducitur in orationem'.

⁴³ Chabot was clearly aware of the tradition he was working in and mentions Lorenzo Valla, Rudolph Agricola, Jakob Omphalius, Bartholomew Latomus, Johann Sturm, Peter Ramus and Omer Talon as the 'seven suns' who with the help of dialectic had brought the classical authors back to life both by lecturing and commenting on them (*Praelectiones*, fol. <(:) 3>v).

According to him dialectic had to be associated with the three most important functions of the human mind: *percipere* ('to grasp'), *iudicare* ('to judge') and *recordari* ('to remember'). The connection between dialectic and memory also explains why Chabot's title page of the *Analysis brevis* proclaimed that this work was helpful for the memory of its readers, as it helped them fully to grasp and thus reproduce the structures of Horace's text. Chabot refers to Aristotle to buttress his opinion that the three functions of the human mind and therefore dialectic are used with an eye to preparing and delivering an oration: coming up with a *locus* or method of constructing an argument ('locum invenire'), linked to *percipere*; arranging ('disponere'), linked to *iudicare*; and telling the oration to someone else ('ad alterum dicere').⁴⁴ The thoughts that have risen on a more abstract level then need to be put into words. This means our next step is to turn to grammar, which is the discipline that focuses on a word in its purest and most proper form. In other words, dialectic functions on discourse level and grammar on word level. The final step is to put these thoughts and words into a splendid and dignified formulation.⁴⁵

In his thoughts about dialectic, grammar and rhetoric Chabot puts much stress on the mind of the poet and the process of poetic creation. He believed that the tripartite division would in fact allow scholars to carefully describe any act of verbal communication, as we first think about a subject in abstract terms, then try to put it into words and finally try to make our message as effective as possible through embellishments and other rhetorical features. Another interesting point in Chabot's ideas is his belief in an interaction between poetry and commentary through this tripartite system. In order to come to grips with a poem fully and write a good commentary about it, the commentator should be aware of the creative process. On the other hand, if students want to write their own literary works the right preparation with an eye to doing so is reading literature with the help of a commentary like the *Praelectiones*.

It will not come as a surprise that regarding the question whether *natura* or *ars* is more helpful in literary creation Chabot chooses for the latter. He calls in the help of Cicero, who, in his *De officiis*, had argued that art was a more reliable guide than nature.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Aristotle, *Topica* VIII, 1.

⁴⁵ *Praelectiones*, fol. <† 2 v>.

⁴⁶ Cicero, *De officiis* I, 6.

As we have seen, the distinction that Chabot takes as the theoretical starting point of his commentary is not new and had in fact already been formulated by someone like Agricola working about a century before Chabot himself. What sets Chabot apart from his predecessors working within the tradition of humanist dialectic is that he completely formalises the borders between the arts. He has divided his work into an *analysis dialectica*, followed by an *enarratio grammatica* and finally an *explicatio rhetorica*. The name given to each of the sections ('analysis', 'enarratio' and 'explicatio') is important to keep in mind for the kind of information that is given in that particular section. Thus the *analysis* focuses on seeing through the abstract structures of a text and the *explicatio* deals with the elucidation of figures of style. The term *enarratio grammatica* refers to the tradition of teaching by grammarians. Quintilian explained in his *De institutione oratoria* that grammar consisted of two parts: 'This profession may be most briefly considered under two heads, the art of speaking correctly and the interpretation of the poets'.⁴⁷ In other words, grammar does not only train pupils to speak correctly; it also deals with the interpretation of literary works and it is on this latter aspect ('poetarum enarratio') that Chabot himself focuses in his own *enarratio grammatica*.

This division gives rise to the question where other disciplines such as philosophy, history, meteorology and medicine are discussed. As Chabot demonstrates towards the end of his preface with the words *diva potens Cypri* ('the goddess who rules over Cyprus', *Odes* I, 3):

If an interpreter would like to know and say more about these things, then he will add this to his grammatical annotations, for example, about the origin, power, names and other aspects, the circumstances of Venus and other deities, whether it be drawn from the problems of this art [grammar]; or astrology, or the tales and stories from history or nature; or, finally, from other writers of sciences, that, I say, he will note down with the grammatical annotations or he will refer the reader to indicated places of other authors.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Quintilian, *De institutione oratoria* I, 4: 'Haec igitur professio, cum brevissime in duas partis dividatur, recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem'. Cf. Murphy J.J., *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from St. Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1981) 24 ff.

⁴⁸ *Praelectiones*, fol. <† 6>r: 'si quid velit interpretes amplius de his cognoscere ac dicere, id grammaticis adscribet: verbi gratia, de origine, potestate, nominibus aliisque, Veneris et reliquorum Deastrorum circumstantiis, sive petium sit ex huius artis theorematibus sive ex astrologia sive ex fabulis et historiis rerum aut gestarum aut physicarum sive denique e caeteris disciplinarum scriptoribus, id, inquam, in grammaticis notabit aut lectorem remittet ad locos auctorum indicatos'.

This statement is in harmony with Chabot's announcement on the title page of his *Praelectiones*.

As was the case with the smaller *Expositio*, the title page of the *Praelectiones* gives a concise yet comprehensive description of the purpose of the commentary. It therefore provides us with the ideal starting point to find out more about the plans that Chabot had in mind with this commentary. We are told that this is a *threefold commentary*, divided into a *dialectical*, a *grammatical* and a *rhetorical* part. Of these three the first explained the sources of invention from which the poet seems to draw his ways of discussing a *quaestio* in his poems, reveals it to his public and expresses and forms it according to the laws of *dispositio*. The second, *grammar*, deals with the appropriateness and origin of words and at the same time serves as an 'arsenal' ('armamentarium'), in which everything related to other arts to which the poet refers is discussed. The final part deals with the 'box of unguents' ('murothêkion'), the collection of stylistic means, with which the poet has adorned his work.

On the very same title page we also find the promise that 'studious youth', if they stick to Chabot's approach to Horace, will not only gain a lot of knowledge from their reading but will also get to know a 'better way of understanding (*intelligere*), assessing (*meditari*) and explaining (*expla-nari*) the authors', mainly thanks to the practice (*usus*) they will gain in the *organicae artes*, dialectic, grammar and rhetoric.

Chabot, therefore, explicitly refers to the Ramist educational context of the commentary as a means of practice in and confirmation of what had been taught with the help of manuals such as Ramus's *Dialectica*. Chabot's promise also informs us why he gives us all the information we can find in his *Praelectiones*. Given the impressive dimensions of this commentary (one thousand pages in quarto, each with two columns of text) and other early modern commentaries, it would be tempting to conclude that commentators simply tried to gather as much information as possible and turn their commentaries into storehouses of knowledge for their own sake. This, however, is too simplified a view and most early modern commentators including Chabot have a well-defined idea as to what the purpose and utility was of giving the information we find in their commentaries.

Whereas modern-day commentaries usually focus on the explanation of one particular text, early modern commentators see the classical target text on which they are working as a convenient stepping stone to hand down precisely those pieces of information they considered necessary for a good comprehension of the *humaniores litterae*. Whereas the modern commentator will try to make his reader understand one particular text,

his early modern predecessor would have tried to bring together material that would have helped any reader in his understanding of other texts and classical literature in general.⁴⁹ This is also what motivated Chabot when writing his commentary. In the development of Ramist pedagogy, Chabot therefore takes a position between the earlier French followers of Ramus who in their educational pursuits stayed very close to classical texts, always taking them as their starting point for whatever they wanted to teach, and, on the other hand, the later German Ramists who used Ramus's methods to compile encyclopedic works but at the same time moved away from classical authorities.⁵⁰

With an eye to the presentation of information, it is interesting to note that Chabot does not make use of any visual means in his commentaries, such as the dichotomies and tree diagrams for which Ramist education is famous. This should not surprise us, however, as Ramus himself and his French pupils – in other words, the group to which Chabot himself belonged – did not apply any tree diagrams in their commentaries either and it were rather the Protestant German educators and scholars who were the first to adopt tree diagrams in their annotations on classical texts.⁵¹

5. *Between Theory and Reality: Chabot's Ideas Put into Practice*

In order to make clear how this theoretical framework works out when applied in Chabot's commentary, we shall take a closer look at the *Expositio analytica* and *Praelectiones*. In the case of the *Expositio*, we encounter a situation that is very similar to what we find in Amariton's commentary on Horace's first epistle. This commentary functions on a very basic level and focuses on the development of skills in logic. The information

⁴⁹ See, e.g., the remarks of Giovanni Battista de Plotis (1485–?) regarding his commentary on Persius. De Plotis explains that he digresses both because he thinks it will be agreeable to his readers to read the opinions of many authors (fol. <v>v) and because much of what he treats is often encountered in other classical texts and will therefore turn out to be useful for the reader's education in general (fol. <xi>v).

⁵⁰ Hotson H., *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and Its German Ramifications, 1543–1630* (Oxford: 2007) 184.

⁵¹ See, e.g., the commentary on Persius's *Satires* by the Rostock professor in poetry Eilert Lubben (Eilhardus Lubinus, 1565–1621) which was published in Amsterdam in 1595 and revised and enlarged in 1603 (published by Wechel in Hannover). On the absence of tree diagrams and other visual means in Ramus's own commentaries, see Mack, "Ramus Reading" 140.

given in this commentary therefore has a very auxiliary purpose, namely to bring out the logical structures in a poem in as clear a way as possible. I will take *Ode* I, 26 as an example:

Dear to the Muses, I will banish gloom and fear to the wild winds to carry over the Cretan Sea, all unconcerned what ruler of the frozen borders of the North is object of our fear, or what dangers frighten Tiridates. Do you, sweet Muse, that take joy in fountains fresh, weave gay blossoms, yea, weave them as a garland for my Lamia! Nothing without you avail my tributes. Him in new measures, him with Lesbian plectrum, it is meet that you and your sisters should make immortal.

Musis amicus tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis, quis sub Arcto
Rex gelidae metuatur orae,

Quid Tiridaten terreat, unice
securus. O quae fontibus integris
gaudes, apricos necte flores,
necte meo Lamiae coronam,

Pimplei dulcis. Nil sine te mei
Prosunt honores: hunc fidibus novis,
Hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
Teque tuasque decet sorores.⁵²

With the help of lemmas Chabot then gradually dissects this poem in terms of a syllogism:

Dear to the muses] [...] Nobody can mention anyone in a good poem without the benevolence and help of the Muses. Horace, because of his reverence and observance of the Muses has their friendship and goodwill. He could therefore celebrate the name of Aelius Lamia without worries. The proposition of this argumentation is in the second position at the words 'Nothing without you' etcetera. The assumption, however, is at the beginning together with the conclusion.⁵³

⁵² Hor. *Odes* I, 26. Transl. by C.E. Bennett (Cambridge MA: 1968).

⁵³ Chabot, *Expositio* 50: 'Nemo potest quemquam bono carmine dicere sine benevolentia et ope musarum: Horatius suo cultu et observantia Musas sibi habet amicas et faventes. Nomen igitur Aelii Lamiae poterit aeterno carmine celebrare vacuus curis: huius argumentationis propositio est loco secundo ad haec verba, "Nil sine te" etc. Assumptio autem est initio una cum complexione'. A brief explanation seems to be required here. Like Amartion, Chabot tries to analyse the structure of poems with the help of syllogisms. Chabot distinguishes an assumption ('Horace, because of his reverence and observance of the Muses has their friendship and goodwill'), a proposition ('Nobody can mention anyone in a good poem without the benevolence and help of the Muses') and a conclusion ('He could there-

As we see, any information falling outside the scope of identifying and ordering of the formal structure of the poem as a syllogism is neglected. The name of Tiridates, a Parthian who revolted against King Prahates in ca. 31 BC and ca. 26 BC and was given asylum by Augustus after the failure of his second attempt, does not receive any explanation.⁵⁴ The same goes for Pimplea (a town in Macedonia, sacred to the Muses) and Aelius Lamia, a member of an important Roman clan and friend of Horace.⁵⁵ The information in the commentary itself is therefore completely narrowed down to the line of thought and logic without any extra information that could give distraction. In his dedicatory epistle Chabot explained that he saw logic as a preliminary discipline. In accordance with this view he made sure that users could thus focus on these structures before moving on to other information and disciplines. Thus he could ensure that these users gained the best possible demonstration and exercise in the practice. The elaboration of the reader's skills and the further exploration of the arts of dialectic, grammar and rhetoric would then be taken up with the *Praelectiones*.

Within the corpus of paratexts with the help of which Chabot guides his readers through the *Praelectiones*, there are a number of categories:

- 1) Prefatory material: title page; dedicatory letter; preface; life of Horace; laudatory epigram by Heinrich Pantaleon (1522–1595).
- 2) The commentary itself consisting of a *theticum* ('summarising statement'); *analysis logica*; *enarratio grammatica*, and *explicatio rhetorica*.
- 3) Catalogue of authors mentioned in the commentary; alphabetical index of words and subjects mentioned 'that seemed worthy of the *Praelectiones*'.

Apart from such apparent functions such as addressing the dedicatee (dedicatory letter) and capturing the attention of possible readers (title page), the prefatory material is the place where Chabot gives his views on the theory that forms the intellectual basis on which he constructs the rest of his commentary as it has been treated in section iv.

fore celebrate the name of Aelius Lamia without worries'). At the beginning of his poem Horace writes that he, being 'dear to the muses' (assumption), will not need to care about anything while doing what he is going to do, namely mention Lamia (conclusion). For this reason, assumption and conclusion are mentioned together, according to Chabot.

⁵⁴ Mulroy D.D., *Horace's Odes and Epodes: Translated with an Introduction and Commentary* (Ann Arbor: 1994) 85.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem* 86.

In the commentary itself, the *theticum* works in close cooperation with the *analysis dialectica* and *enarratio grammatica*. One could say that the *analysis* mainly operates on a poem's discourse level, while the *enarratio* operates at the level of individual words. We will take a closer look at the case of *Ode* II, 8 to see how this works. The *theticum* given by Chabot to this poem is: 'That because she is not punished when lying, nor becomes less beautiful, one should not have faith in her promises'.⁵⁶

Had ever any penalty for violated vows visited you, Barine; did you ever grow uglier by a single blackened tooth or spotted nail, I'd trust you now. But with you, no sooner have you bound your perfidious head by promises than you shine forth much fairer and are the cynosure of all eyes when you appear. 'Tis actually of help to you to swear falsely by the buried ashes of your mother, by the silent sentinels of night, with the whole heaven, and by the gods, who are free from chilly death. All this but makes sport for Venus (upon my word, it does!) and for the artless Nymphs, and cruel Cupid, ever whetting his fiery darts on blood-stained stone. Not only this! All our youth are growing up for you alone, to be a fresh band of slaves, while your old admirers leave not the roof of their heartless mistress, oft as they have threatened this. Your mothers fear for their sons, your frugal sires, your wretched brides, who but yesterday were maidens, lest your radiance make their husbands linger.

Ulla si iuris tibi peierati
poena, Barine, nocuisset umquam,
dente si nigro fieres uel uno
turpior ungui,

crederem; sed tu simul obligasti
perfidum uotis caput, enitescis
pulchrior multo iuuenumque prodis
publica cura.

Expedit matris cineres opertos
fallere et toto taciturna noctis
signa cum caelo gelidaque diuos
morte carentis.

Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
simplices Nymphae, ferus et Cupido
semper ardentis acuens sagittas
cote cruenta.

⁵⁶ Chabot, *Praelectiones* 186: 'Quod quum ea peierando non puniatur nec fiat deformior, non sit promissis ipsius fides habenda'.

Adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
servitus crescit nova nec priores
impiae tectum dominae relinquunt
saepe minati.

Te suis matres metuunt iuencis,
te senes parci miseraeque nuper
virgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
aura maritos.⁵⁷

In his analysis, Chabot starts by pointing out the central assumption of the poem by rephrasing it:

If Barine became more wretched through some punishment for her infidelity; one would believe that the gods punish the vices of men; now, since they do not punish them, it isn't surprising that Barine becomes more beautiful by being unfaithful.⁵⁸

By adding Arabic numerals in the text of Horace that correspond to sections in the analysis, Chabot tries to demonstrate the flow of thought and turning points in Horace's words. The passage of lines 13–16 ('Ridet hoc [...] cote cruenta') is thus highlighted as support for the assumption that the gods do not care about vice. Chabot also quotes Ovid's *Amores* III, 3: 'No doubt the eternal gods allow girls to swear falsely too, and beauty has divinity'.⁵⁹ He stresses that both in argument and the nature of the complaint Ovid's elegy and Horace's ode are very much alike as a whole, and this is another aspect that shows that Chabot with the dialectical section of his commentary operated on a text's discourse level as opposed to the verbal level of the *enarratio grammatica* to which I will turn next.

The grammar section within Chabot's comments offers the widest range of information, as was already announced by Chabot in his title page and as has been discussed in the foregoing section. The starting point usually is an issue of grammar or etymology connected with one word or short phrase after which Chabot dwells on a subject that he deems important for his readers to know and understand. On one end of the spectrum of information we find brief discussions concerning points of grammar, spelling and syntax. In his *enarratio* on *Ode* III, 27, for example, Chabot comments

⁵⁷ Horace, *Odes* II, 8. Transl. C.E. Bennett.

⁵⁸ Chabot, *Praelectiones* 187: 'Si Barine aliqua perfidiae suae poena turpior fieret; Deastri crederentur vitia hominum vindicare; atqui quum hi non ea vindicent; [...] non est mirum, si Barine pulcrior fiat peierando'.

⁵⁹ Transl. A.S. Kline, via the translator's website: www.poetryintranslation.com. Lat. text: 'Scilicet aeterni falsum iurare puellis/ Dii quoque concedunt, formaque numen habet'.

on the right spelling of the name of the addressee of this poem Galatea which he has found with *-t-* or *-th-*.⁶⁰ Every now and then this commentary also helps its readers understand Horace's text on the most primary and literal level, for example, with the words 'iure omnes' in *Satire* I, 2: 'Nay, once it so befell that a man mowed down with the sword the testicles and lustful member. "That's the law," cry all, Galba dissenting'.⁶¹ Chabot only notes 'supplement the meaning: "factum iudicabunt"'. Thus the sense of the line would become: "All thought it was done rightfully".⁶²

Of a more elaborate nature are those lemmas in which the etymology of a word is clarified. In connection with the use of the word 'pontifex' in *Epode* 17, we first read about the well-known theory that this word could derive from *pons* (stem *pont-*), 'bridge' and the suffix *-fex*, *-ficis*, "maker", and would thus refer to the holders of this office as 'bridge-makers'. This could either be understood in the literal sense as successors of Numa Pompilius who was said to have built the first bridge across the river Tiber and the founder of the office of Pontifex Maximus or in a more spiritual sense of bridging the earthly world and the realm of the gods. The commentator then moves on to giving more general information about the tasks and powers of the pontifex.⁶³ He thus raises the lemma to a higher level of explanation which does not only deal with the passage at hand but also gives information that could be useful for a good understanding of other classical authors.

Chabot often marks such transitions explicitly and addresses the reader. A nice example of this can be found in the analysis of *Ode* I, 7. In the second half of this poem Lucius Munatius Plancus (ca. 87 BC–15 BC) is advised to live his life in a calm and agreeable way. Horace uses a simile to emphasise his point and refers to Notus, the south wind. He writes:

As Notus is often a clearing wind and dispels the clouds from darkened skies nor breeds perpetual showers, so do you, Plancus, remember wisely to end life's gloom and troubles with mellow wine.

albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
saepe Notus neque parturit imbres
perpetuo, sic tu sapiens finire memento
tristitiam vitaeque labores
molli, Plance, mero.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Chabot, *Praelectiones* 329.

⁶¹ '[...] quin etiam illud/ Accidit, ut quidam testis caudamque salacem/ Demeteret ferro. "iure" omnes: Galba negabat'. Transl. H.R. Fairclough.

⁶² Chabot, *Praelectiones* 500: 'exple sensum, factum iudicabunt'.

⁶³ Ibidem 463.

⁶⁴ Horace, *Odes* I, 7,15–19. Transl. C.E. Bennett.

After a brief explanation of this simile, Chabot turns to his readers:

I would like to remind you, reader, to consider even from a single ode how very fruitfully [...] the category of similes is to explain anything in a lucid and clear way. [...] Nor would you be able to see this richness only here and in other poets, both Greek and Latin, but in almost all writers.

Hic te, Lector, moneo, ut consideres vel ex hac una sola Ode, quam faecundissima et uberrima sit categoria, comparatorum ad quidvis dilucide ac perspicue explicandum. [...] neque hanc ubertatem hic solum ac in caeteris poetis tam Latinis quam Graecis observare, sed in omnibus fere aliis etiam scriptoribus reperire.⁶⁵

This passage is the introduction to a digression about similes. Chabot explains what according to him is the best way to create convincing comparisons and he argues that it is particularly important to have a broad knowledge, especially about nature because it can provide the poet with many images that are very close to the human senses.⁶⁶ Such passages of more general interest are sometimes even highlighted by means of sub-headings. This is the case, for example, after the analysis of *Ode* I, 1 where Chabot has added an *admonitio pernecessaria* on the use of elements of contrast in literature and after the *enarratio grammatica* of *Ode* II, 7 where we find a *brevis recensio corporum caelestium*. In this latter digression the reader is given a history of the beginnings of astrology and the astral signs of the zodiac with references to Pliny the Elder, Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and Aristotle.⁶⁷ Examples of other subjects that receive a lot of attention are the human body, natural phenomena and philosophy.⁶⁸

One particular strategy of information that Chabot applies to Horace's poetry is what could be called the complementary commentary. There are texts which to the early modern reader could not be seen apart from each other and Horace's *Art of Poetry* and Aristotle's *Poetics* are perhaps the foremost example of such a pair of texts during the early modern age. Like most of his contemporaries, Chabot had a strong preference for Aristotle's treatise over Horace's poetic treatment. According to him, the *Art of Poetry* did not even deserve its name because an *ars* should define its subject and its constituent parts properly and should provide plain precepts with an eye to reaching a clear goal.⁶⁹ While a commentator

⁶⁵ Chabot, *Praelectiones* 56.

⁶⁶ Ibidem 4–5.

⁶⁷ Ibidem 223–224.

⁶⁸ See, e.g. ibidem 52 on the stomach; 24 on lightning; 385 on the soul.

⁶⁹ Ibidem 909, 912.

like Daniel Heinsius decided to completely restructure and partly rewrite Horace's poem in order to make it more methodical, we can see that in Chabot's commentary the information that is lacking or not treated in as comprehensive a way as the commentator would like it is supplemented in the commentary itself, the main authorities being Aristotle, Quintilian, Cicero and from the modern theorists Ramus and Talon.⁷⁰ As a result, the combination of Chabot's commentary with Horace's original text give an inclusive picture not only of poetry, but also draws parallels with other literary fields such as the theory of translation and, more prominently, rhetoric and dialectic.⁷¹ This is what happens, for example, regarding Horace's discussion of *dispositio* in lines 42–45. After having paraphrased the words of Horace, Chabot moves on:

And this he teaches in an entirely different way from the rhetorician who adjusts his teachings of disposition according to the ways of the audience and the matter at hand: see Cicero in his *De partitionibus oratoris*. He even does it in a different way from the dialectician, who finds arguments for a posited problem: he arranges his findings according to a certain law with the parts of the problem at hand.⁷²

Immediately after this passage, Chabot discusses how an audience can be directed in their feelings by means of a particularly clever arrangement of one's text, in which, for example, the author can leave out certain information or present it in the most favourable possible way regarding his own views. He then presents a couple of examples mainly from Virgil and Homer and refers to Cicero's *De oratore* book two, Quintilian's *De institutione oratoria* book four, chapter five and Omer Talon's commentary on Ramus's *Dialectica*. The *Praelectiones* is thus carefully embedded in a broader structure of Ramist literature as has already been pointed out above.

In this way, Chabot creates a comprehensive web of knowledge on the basis of Horace's text. With an eye to vouchsafing the information given in his commentary, he often refers to his correspondence with experts

⁷⁰ Cf. Daniel Heinsius, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera. Cum animadversionibus et notis Danielis Heinsi longe auctioribus* (Leiden, Abraham Elzevier: 1612).

⁷¹ Translation theory in Chabot's commentaries is actually one of the very few aspects which have already received serious scholarly attention. See Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation* 76–81.

⁷² Chabot, *Praelectiones* 920: 'Quod docet longe aliter atque Rhetor, qui pro ratione auditorum et propositae quaestionis moderatur doctrinam dispositionis: de qua vide Ciceronem in *Partitionibus oratoris*. Multo etiam id secus facit atque dialecticus, qui positae quaestioni invenit argumenta: inventa disponit certa lege cum partibus problematis'.

in particular fields and, in the case of very technical subjects, even cites complete letters by these experts instead of commenting himself. The aforementioned *Ode* II, 7, for instance, also contains the following lines: 'Whether Libra turns its aspect on me or terrifying Scorpio, the more violent part of my horoscope, or Capricorn, the tyrant of the western wave, our two stars are in wondrous harmony'.⁷³

This passage puzzled Chabot: what did the line 'seu Libra seu me Scorpium aspicit' mean? Was Horace unsure about his astral sign? Apparently, it was a problem he could not solve himself and he therefore called in the help of Friedrich Reisner (d. 1580), a German mathematician who probably came to Paris in 1565 and was a close associate of Ramus until the latter's death.⁷⁴ Apart from this letter, Chabot also added a handwritten note from the Flemish astronomer Jan van Ostaeen (Joannes Stadius, 1527–1579) that he came across together with Reisner's letter.⁷⁵ Interestingly, both of these scientists come up with different solutions for Chabot's problems. Reisner thinks that Horace did indeed not know what his astral sign was, which was apparently also what Chabot himself thought.⁷⁶ Van Ostaeen, however, points out that lines 17–20 could make sense astrologically and that Horace knew that different signs were involved in his horoscope.⁷⁷

For the purpose of this paper it does not matter who was right, but what is important to note about the way this commentary functioned as a vehicle for the transmission of information is that Chabot emphatically presents his views as an open stage for discussion, rather than the final

⁷³ Horace, *Odes* II, 17,17–22: 'seu Libra seu me Scorpium aspicit/ formidulosus, pars violentior/ natalis horae, seu tyrannus/ Hesperiae Capricornus undae, // utrumque nostrum incredibili modo/ consentit astrum'.

⁷⁴ For Reisner's life, see *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (New York: 1970) vol. XI, 289, 468; *Neue deutsche Biographie*, vol. XXI, 646; Verdonk J.J., *Ramus en de wiskunde* (Assen: 1966) 66–73; Moran B.T., *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572–1632)* (Stuttgart: 1991) 52.

⁷⁵ For Van Ostaeen's life, see Ernalsteen J.A.E., *Joannes Stadius Leonnouthesius 1527–1597* (Antwerp – Brecht: 1927).

⁷⁶ Chabot, *Praelectiones* 224: '[...] perspicuum est ipsum de signo tempore suo natalitio horoscopante, sicut tu recte opinaris, incertum fuisse' – '[...] it is obvious that he himself was not sure about the sign that was in the ascendant at the time of his birth'. This opinion has found its modern defenders in, e.g., Nisbett and Hubbard who have argued that Horace's 'insouciance about the actual details' should be seen as a sign that Horace did not really care about astrology. Cf. Nisbett R.G.M. – Hubbard M., *A Commentary on Horace Odes Book II* (Oxford: 1978) 273.

⁷⁷ Chabot, *Praelectiones* 225. A recent defender of this view regarding these lines is David West. See his *Horace Odes II: Vatis Amici. Text, Translation and Commentary* (Oxford: 1998).

answer to all the subjects and problems he discusses. Very telling in this respect is the reason he gives for quoting these documents at length:

Of these handwritten documents, I now bring examples to your attention so that you have accurately copied what they themselves thought and what they disagreed about among each other about this problem and you can interpose your own judgment.⁷⁸

The reader is thus invited to form his own opinion about the matters that are discussed. At the same time, the users of this commentary are explicitly made aware that what they are reading is not the product of an isolated scholar but rather that Chabot was part of a broad scholarly network.

Chabot does not only refer to experts in other fields, but also to many other commentators and philologists. Although he is obviously proud of his educational and cognitive approach to Horace's text, he does not claim much originality regarding solutions to textual and interpretative problems but rather presents his reader with a number of interpretations, leaving it up to the reader to decide which one seems most plausible. Like his famous fellow countryman Denis Lambin who had published a commentary on Horace in 1561, he has a tendency to give Greek parallels in order to explain Latin passages in his main text.⁷⁹ The Greek passages are accompanied by a Latin or, if available, by a French translation, for example, Jacques Amyot's translation of Plutarch's works. Chabot often expands on the parallels given by Lambin and tries to fill the gaps that according to him had been left open by his predecessor. With an eye to Horace's words 'For he is not poor who has enough things to use. If it is well with your bell, chest and feet, the wealth of kings can give you nothing more'.⁸⁰

Chabot, following Lambin's footsteps, quotes from Theognis:

Equally rich is he who has much silver and gold, fields of wheat-bearing land, and horses and mules, and he who has at hand what is necessary to provide comfort for his stomach, sides, and feet.⁸¹

⁷⁸ *Praelectiones* 224: 'Quorum [sc. autographa] tibi nunc exempla propono ante oculos, ut quid ipsi mecum sentirent et inter se dissentirent de praesenti quaestione, fideliter haberes descriptum et in illo iudicio interponeres tuum'.

⁷⁹ For this comparative method and its application by Lambin, see Grafton A., *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1983/1993), vol. I, 80–82.

⁸⁰ Horace, *Epistulae* I, 12,5–6. Transl. H.R. Fairclough.

⁸¹ Theognis 1, 722. Transl. D.E. Gerber (*Greek Elegiac Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* Cambridge MA: 1999).

The similarity in flow of thought between Theognis and Horace remains a bit unclear, but Chabot divides the word of the Greek poet into a first part ('protasis') in which the goods of the materially rich man are summed up, and a second part ('apodosis') containing the statement that the man who owns just enough to fulfill his needs is just as rich as the first man. This is, as Chabot proclaims, a similar structure, though in reversed order, as Horace's words.⁸² Whereas Lambin thus keeps to briefly pointing out textual parallels, Chambot expands the French comparative tradition by pointing out similarities in dialectic structures and explaining them in detail.

The Early Modern commentary was also the place where a commentator could mediate between his own Christian background and the pagan spirit in which the classical literature was written that he studied. It has often been noted that many commentators read the classical authors in such a resolutely unhistorical way that it could not possibly give rise to an affront to the aristocratic standards and Christian morals that reigned supreme in early modern France and Europe. Anthony Grafton has even suggested that Ramus and his followers preceded the Jesuits in creating a Greco-Roman environment that was 'emptied of everything specifically Greek or Roman'.⁸³

It must be admitted that Chabot often agreed with his former teacher. On page 378 when discussing *Ode* IV, 9, in which Horace tries to win the favour of the young Ligurinus by telling him that his beauty will fade once he will get older, Chabot refers with approval to Ramus's explanation of Virgil's second *Eclogue* about the love of Corydon for the boy Alexis. According to Ramus it was best to interpret the emotions evoked in this poem as a *locus communis* in which the names were simply made up and exchangeable for any other names.⁸⁴ On many other occasions, however, he does show surprisingly much historical awareness and shows his rejection and dismissal rather than veil the contents of the poems under

⁸² Chabot, *Praelectiones*, 798.

⁸³ Cf. Grafton A., "Teacher, Text and Pupil in the Renaissance Class-room: a Case Study from a Parisian College", *History of Universities* 1 (1981) 52. The quotation is from Durkheim E., *The Evolution of Educational Thought*, transl. P. Collins (London: 1977) 250–251.

⁸⁴ Ramus, quoted in Chabot, *Praelectiones* 378: 'Mihi placet magis communem locum et communem affectum fictis nominibus a Poeta cantari: praesertim quum Theocriti imitatio constet in [...] *Idyllio* 3. de Amaryllide' – 'I would [prefer to read this as] a commonplace and a common emotion, especially because it is an imitation of Theocritus's third Idyll about Amaryllis'. Another approach to this problematic poem can be found in Erasmus's *De ratione studii* and basically entails interpreting Virgil's words in terms of *amicitia* ('friendship'). Cf. Grafton A., *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge MA: 1991) 38.

discussion. In the case of sexually sensitive passages he warns his readers and presents each as an odious example: 'reader, I beg you, protect your spirit in such a way with the help of chastity and timidity that it may not be overwhelmed by any obscene mention'.⁸⁵ In some instances he also refers to the biblical passages that condemn particular debaucheries: 'But you must shrink much more from that terrible passion avenged with severe punishments in *Leviticus* 18 and *Deuteronomy* 27 because of the transgression of the law in *Deuteronomy* 23, verse 17'.⁸⁶ Such judgments may seem very old-fashioned and patronizing to modern readers, but if we take into account that it was in fact very common to bowdlerise texts for both pupils and students, especially in the Jesuit tradition that was gradually gaining ground towards the end of the sixteenth century, we realise that Chabot used his commentary to actively identify tensions between ancient and early modern Christian morality. It was thus that he could make sure that students would get the chance to enjoy Horace's poems, while at the same time he was able to forewarn them against the possibility of copying any of the described escapades. In Chabot's own words:

I have told these things beforehand, reader, so that youngsters could avert their spirits from the indecent verses that occur far and wide in the writings of these profane authors, and so that they could read them with judgment and enjoyment, only for the sake of knowledge of literature not for the education and training of morals and life, which Christians must receive only from the Prophets and Apostles of God rather than from the philosophers and profane poets.⁸⁷

Seen from this perspective, Chabot's comments function in an almost liberating way as it breaks certain taboos applied to themes and helped pagan literature to be read and appreciated separately from moral issues.

So far we have mainly looked at the first two parts of Chabot's commentary. Regarding the third part, in which the reader is instructed about

⁸⁵ Chabot, *Expositio* 298: 'animum tuum, lector, sic castitatis ac pudicitiae praesidiis firmes, obsecro, ut ille nequeat expugnari ulla turpi commemoratione'.

⁸⁶ Chabot, *Praelectiones* 378.: 'At vero tu deterreare multo magis ab illa teterrima libidine severis poenis vindicata Levitici ca<pite> 18. Deut<eronomii> 27 propter violatam legem Deut<eronomii> 23. v<ersu> 17'.

⁸⁷ Ibidem: 'Haec sum praefatus, Lector, ut adolescentes averterent animos ab impudicis et impiis versibus, qui passim occurrunt in hujusmodi scriptoribus profanis [...] atque iudicio ac delectu illos legerent, ad scientiam solum literarum, non ad institutionem et disciplinam morum et vitae referrent: quam Christiani salutariter accipere debent a solis Prophetis et Apostolis Dei et Christi potius, quam a Philosophis et Poetis profanis'.

elements of rhetoric, this commentary is quite straightforward and I will therefore treat it more briefly than I have done with the comments on dialectic and grammar. In the case of the *analysis dialectica*, Chabot uses Arabic numerals to link a particular passage in Horace's text to a particular section in his commentary. For the *explicatio rhetorica* he uses letters from the alphabet for the same purpose. The *explicatio* to each of the poems usually starts with a short explanation of the metre used in that particular poem after which Chabot discusses the rhetorical figures one by one. Because most background information has usually already been dealt with in either the *analysis* or the *enarratio*, the *explicatio rhetorica* is often surprisingly short and Chabot can focus (and thus force his readers to focus) on figures of style in the purest sense. He carefully identifies phenomena like synecdoche and metaphors. In the case of some figures of style he adds a brief explanation.⁸⁸ This is also the section where the users of this commentary can find information about the tone of Horace's work, thanks to discussions of, for example, irony. When Horace in *Ode* I, 8 tells how Sybaris under the influence of Lydia turns away from all those activities which should be considered normal for a young man, such as horse riding and swimming, Chabot explains that according to him we are dealing with irony:

These words must be understood ironically, the fact namely that, while he seems to praise him, he nonetheless very severely criticises him for being effeminate, when he says: 'why does he abhor those things, which other young men and he himself until recently, enjoy so much, such as wrestling, the gym, horse riding, swimming, disc throwing, the boxing belt and similar objectives that are necessary for military discipline?'⁸⁹

Thus the separate treatment of figures of style and other rhetorical elements, allowed students of literature to study these phenomena in isolation. Chabot also forced a certain stand towards rhetoric: this part of the interpretation and creation of literature should always take the final position after the dialectical and grammatical phase.

⁸⁸ See, e.g. his note on *Ode* I, 8 (*Praelectiones* 63) in which he explains *κοινωνία*.

⁸⁹ Chabot, *Praelectiones* 63–64: 'Ἐιρωνικῶς intelligenda sunt: quod, quum videtur ipsum laudare, tamen ipsum, ut effoeminatum, maxime vituperet, dum dicit, "cur abhorret ab iis, quibus iuvenes reliqui, ac ipsemet nuper, delectantur maxime, ut a lucta, palaestra, equitatione, natatu, disci iactu, cestu et similibus studiis ac exercitationibus ad disciplinam militarem pernecessariis?".

After the publication of the *Praelectiones*, Chabot devoted the last years of his life to working on new annotations in order to publish a second expanded edition of this commentary. He died before he could finish his project, and his notes were then collected and published in 1615 by Johann Jacob Grasser. These notes, however, were often unfinished and Grasser could not always distinguish between Chabot's own words and quotations from classical sources. Pierre Bayle even refers to Grasser's work as editor of Chabot's notes as an example of shoddy work in his *Dictionnaire critique*.⁹⁰ Although, therefore, Grasser may not have done Chabot a great service in editing his annotations, the fact that the scholar took enough interest in the work of this Frenchman shows that the *Praelectiones* and the approach and information that this commentary transmitted had won at least some popularity among German-speaking, Protestant intellectuals.

6. Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper, I claimed that Chabot should be seen as a scholar on the cross roads of two currents among the early modern compilers of commentaries. On the one hand, Chabot stood firmly within the Ramist tradition in his longing for a methodological treatment of literature. With his threefold commentary he goes even further than his Ramist predecessors, such as Fouquelin, Amariton and Ramus himself. This highly formalised approach not only helped the users of this commentary to strengthen their knowledge of dialectic, grammar and rhetoric as they could consider how these arts were applied in connection with Horace's text; it also forced them to think of literary interpretation according to a Ramist three-step methodology. Interpretation, as we have seen, was as it were a reflection of the active process of creating literature. By

⁹⁰ Pierre Bayle, *Projet et fragmens d'un dictionnaire critique*, (Rotterdam, Reinier Leers: 1692) 182: 'il [Chabot] ramassa continuellement des remarques pour une 2. Edition, sans avoir pu effectuer son dessein. Après sa mort Jaques Grasserus ayant en main ces recueils, les inséra en leur place le mieux qu'il put dans l'édition de l'an 1615. Mais n'ayant pas toujours discerné, comme l'Auteur auroit fait luy-même, les citations d'avec les remarques que Chabot y ajoûtoit, il nous a donné assez souvent comme citation d'un Ancien, la pensée de Chabot. Ailleurs on sent bien que les reflexions de l'Auteur n'avoient été que comme une premiere vûë, que l'on écrit sur ses recueils afin qu'elle n'échape pas à la memoire, & qu'on s'attend d'éclaircir avant que de la publier. Mais quand un autre home tombe là dessus, il ne sent pas toujours ce qui y manqué'.

interpreting Horace according to Chabot's commentary, pupils and students also came to grips with the aspects of writing literature themselves.

On the other hand, Chabot went further than his predecessors because of his efforts to transmit a wide range of information belonging to a wide range of fields. Commentators like Amariton gave background information and digressions mainly in order to serve the pedagogical goal of clarifying the way a formal structure or rhetorical element functioned. Although in his *Expositio* Chabot followed this trend, he was much more ambitious in his *Praelectiones*: he often used Horace's text as an ingression to discuss a wide range of subjects at length. In this way, Chabot's work fits into a larger current, namely the commentary as a comprehensive encyclopedia of humanist learning.

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CHANGING METATEXTS AND CHANGING POETIC IDEALS

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SUMMARY

Helius Eobanus Hessus was the first German to publish a collection of Latin eclogues, as he states in the beginning of his *Bucolicon* from 1509. Later on, he moved on to other genres and composed a wide range of poetic works, but around 1530 his production reflects a renewed interest in the pastoral centred around Theocritus. This return to bucolic poetry is in itself remarkable, since it does not cohere with the conventions of the *rota Vergiliana*, according to which Hessus ought to have been concerned with more serious and complicated genres, such as the epos or didactic poetry. The choice of Theocritus as primary model is similarly special. Hessus is conscious and explicit about the oddness of his choices. With a focus on Hessus's own considerations of conventions and poetics in metatexts, this article aims to trace in the return to bucolic poetry a reevaluation of Theocritus and a development in Hessus's poetic ideals.

Introduction

Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540) was an important figure in relation to the transfer of the bucolic¹ genre from Italy to Germany in the 16th century. As Hessus himself underlines in the prefatory epigram on the title page of his *Bucolicon*² of 1509, he was the first German author to publish a collection of bucolic poems. Two decades later, in 1528, he reworked the collection, added new poems, and reissued it as *Bucolicorum Idyllia*.³

¹ The term “bucolic” is used to designate pastoral in its Neo-Latin form.

² Helius Eobanus Hessus, *Bucolicon Eobani Hessi, Magistri Erphurdiensis* (Erfurt, Johann Knappe the Elder: 1509).

³ Helius Eobanus Hessus, *Bucolicorum Idyllia XII. Nuper anno demum decimo octavo a prima aeditione recognita, ac dimidia plus parte vel aucta, vel concisa, atque in ordinem alium redacta. His accessere ex recenti aeditione Idyllia quinque* (Hagenau, Johann Setzer: 1528). In 1539, the bucolic poems, in the form of the second edition, were reissued as part of Hessus' *Opera omnia: Bucolicorum Idyllia XVII. iam tertium ab autore summa diligentia recognita, et nunc primum argumentis et annotationibus, quae pro commentario esse possint, illustrata*, in idem *Operum farragines duae, nuper ab eodem qua fieri potuit diligentia contractae, et in hanc, quam uides formam coactae, quibus etiam non parum multa accesserunt nunc primum et nata et aedita* (Schwäbisch Hall, Peter Braubach: 1539), fols. 1r–55r.

The reissuing of the bucolic poems seems to mark a renewed interest in bucolic poetry on Hessus's part; in 1529 he published a school commentary on Virgil, which I shall refer to as his *Adnotationes*,⁴ and in 1530/1531 he and Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) published the entire corpus of Theocritus, Greek text (edited by Camerarius) and Latin translation (by Hessus).⁵

Seen from the perspective of poetic conventions in Hessus's own time, two things are remarkable in his return to bucolic poetry in 1528; firstly, the decision to return to the genre of bucolic poetry, which was the type of poetry considered apt for the young man, and secondly, the decision to write idylls instead of eclogues, i.e. to take Theocritus as the primary model instead of Virgil, as tradition has judged the bucolic poetry of Theocritus to be less refined than that of Virgil. In this paper I wish to explore what might be considered, with regard to the convention of bucolic poetry as the poetry of youth, the unexpected return of Hessus to bucolic poetry in 1528.

As the poetics of Antiquity do not treat bucolic poetry, one has to look elsewhere for normative descriptions of the genre. An important source is the commentaries on Virgil's *Eclogues*, and especially the late antique commentaries of Donatus and Servius.⁶ Virgil's status as a poet is indisputable;

⁴ Helius Eobanus Hessus, *In Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica ac Georgica adnotationes, ac loci omnes maxime Theocriti, tum etiam Hesiodi quidam, quibus usus est Virgilius, latine redditi per H. Eobanum Hessum. E schola Norica* (Hagenau, Johann Setzer: 1529). Wilson-Okamura D.S., *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: 2010), lists 68 documents. 16 reprints (from Cologne, Venice, Strasbourg, Antwerp, Basel, and Lyon). The commentary is, as stated in its title, primarily an examination of Virgil's use of Theocritus's *Idylls* in the eclogues that has as its main concern the identification of loans from Theocritus. The loans are quoted and translated into Latin. These translations correspond, with minor exceptions, to Hessus's Latin translation of Theocritus's *Idylls* published two years later (see below). The commentary is quoted after the edition issued by Joachim Camerarius in 1556: Joachim Camerarius, *Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolicorum, post omnes omnium aliorum non contemnenda explicationes, perscripta de commentatione Ioachimi Camerarii Pabepergensis, cum indicatione et interpretatione locorum Theocriti, cuius autor est H<elius> Eobanus Hessus* (Strassburg, Blasius Fabricius: 1556). The edition contains both the commentary of Hessus and a commentary by Camerarius.

⁵ Theocritus, *Theocriti Syracusani eidyllia trigintasex: Accesserunt recens Theocriti genus, ac vita. De inventione ac discrimine Bucolicorum carminum. Item singulis Eidylliis singula argumenta Latino carmine reddita, Helio Eobano Hesso interprete* (Hagenau, Johann Setzer: 1530/1531). Martino Filetico (ca. 1430–1490) published a translation of the first seven idylls towards the end of the 15th century (the prints give no year of publication) that was spread quite widely, but this is the first complete Latin translation of Theocritus.

⁶ My direct point of departure for this use of commentaries is Nichols F.J., "The Development of Neo-Latin Theory of the Pastoral in the Sixteenth Century", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 18 (1969) 95–114. In a more principal sense, I see the commentary as a way of

his text must be considered the normative model⁷ for bucolic poetry, and as the late antique *Vitae* and commentaries often accompanied his texts, often even physically embracing them on the page, their influence on the reading and conception of Virgil's poetry and genres is obvious. In Donatus and Servius we find the arrangement of the Virgilian genres in the hierarchic system of rhetorical style: *tenuis, moderatus, validus* and *humilis, medius, grandiloquus*. Servius also states the difference between Theocritus and Virgil – namely, the allegorical level added by Virgil that raises his poems above Theocritus's *simple* level (quoted below).

In the following article it will be considered how Hessus deals with the traditional poetics of the bucolic genre, as conveyed by the late antique commentaries, in his return to bucolic poetry in late 1528. As sources for Hessus's considerations I will use paratextual material from the 1528 and 1539 editions of his bucolic poems, paratextual material from his translation of the Theocritean corpus, and his commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues, Adnotationes*.

Servius and the Conventional View on Bucolic Tradition

As we shall see below, Hessus claims in his preface to *Bucolicorum Idyllia* that the reissued version of his bucolic poems has a more serious tone than the earlier bucolic work, even though the primary model for the collection is the bucolic poetry of Theocritus. This differs from the common conception of poetic capacity in the bucolic tradition, in which Virgil's poetry is considered to be more complex than that of Theocritus. This point of view goes back to the comparison of Theocritus and Virgil in the late antique commentaries, as we see here in Servius:

gaining insight into how '[...] the passive reception of the reader and critic changes into the active reception and new production of the author [...]', Jauss H.R. – Benzinger E. (trans.), "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory", *New Literary History* 2,1 (1970) 7–37, therein 23–24.

⁷ The distinction between *normative model* (in casu Virgil) and *archetypus* (in casu Theocritus) is taken from Corti M., "Literary Genres and Codifications", in Bogat M. – Mandelbaum A. (trans.), *An Introduction to Literary Semiotics* (Bloomington – London: 1978) 115–146. Although useful, the conclusion of her exemplary analysis of pastoral and *nenciale* is lacking, since it fails to include the commentaries as testimonies and establishers of genre conventions her description of Renaissance conceptions of genre is. I have written more extensively on this in my PhD dissertation: *Me quoque fer Latii ruris habere locum. Neo-Latin bucolic poetry from Italy to Denmark 14th–16th century* (Aarhus: 2011, unpublished).

In this respect alone he differs from Theocritus: for Theocritus is simple in every respect, while Virgil, forced by necessity, in various places mixes in figures that are even for the most part cleverly made out of verses by Theocritus which people in general agree to be uttered in a simple manner by him.⁸

There has been a tendency in the commentary tradition, and in the bucolic tradition in general, of understanding this simplicity in a qualitative manner, thus creating a triadic progression in authoritative bucolic authors parallel to the triadic progression in Virgilian genres, of which bucolic poetry is the first and lowest rung appropriate for the young poet in the beginning of his career, followed by didactic poetry, and finally, at the summit, heroic epic poetry befitting the poet peaking in maturity and talent. It seems that a qualitative ranking of authoritative bucolic authors develops in parallel with the qualitative ranking of genres. In this, Theocritus is placed first, then Virgil, and then – at least in some versions – “the Christian Virgil”: Giovanni Battista Mantovano (Spagnoli). This ranking is probably to be understood as implicit in the epigram on the title page:

If the rustic Muse of the Sicilian poet delights you, if you, my fellow countrymen, take pleasure in the bucolics of the two Virgils, or if any of you German bards are hankering for something else, put up with me as I too take my place in the Latin countryside. I am the first to pasture a Latin flock on German soil, whether that counts for something or not.⁹

This would be the conventional way to consider bucolic poetry: it is something you practice at the beginning of your career to prove your worth, and you choose as your model the best of the authoritative writers, Virgil, and you draw on the model for the transfer of bucolic poetry to a Christian context, Giovanni Battista Mantovano, as well.

⁸ ‘in qua re tantum dissentit a Theocrito: ille enim ubique simplex est, hic necessitate compulsus aliquibus locis miscet figuras, quas perite plerumque etiam ex Theocriti versibus facit, quos ab illo dictos constat esse simpliciter’. See Maurus Servius Honoratus, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo (Leipzig: 1887, repr. Hildesheim: 1961) 1 (“praefatio”). Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

⁹ ‘Rustica quem Siculi delectat musa Poetae/ Cui placet ex nostris pastor uterque Maro/ Sive quid ulterius Vates Germane requires./ Me quoque fer Latii ruris habere locum/ Primus Teutonico pavi pecus orbe latinum/ Sive ea fama aliquid: Sive ea fama nihil’, see Hessus, *Bucolicon* (as above, n. 2), fol. A1r, quoted from Helius Eobanus Hessus, *The Poetic Works of Helius Eobanus Hessus. Student Years at Erfurt*, ed. and trans. H. Vredeveld (Tempe [AZ]: 2004) 272. Translation by H. Vredeveld from p. 273. The poem also figures on the title page of *Bucolicorum Idyllia*.

Bucolicorum Idyllia

The title of Hessus's reissued bucolic poems indicates that he does not do this. The new title, *Bucolicorum Idyllia*, and its direct implications are discussed in an *argumentum* to the first idyll in the 1539 edition of the idylls. The *argumenta* are inserted in the margin at the beginning of each poem, and in some cases they give keys to the interpretation of allegories. I have not found any indications as to the authorship of the *argumenta* in the 1539 edition. They may be written by the author himself, but they refer to him in the third person. In the *argumentum* to the first idyll it says:

It can probably not be passed over in silence that these which are now idylls were once in the first edition called eclogues because of his imitation of Virgil. Now, after he has translated the entire corpus of Theocritus into Latin verse in his more progressed age, he prefers to entitle them *Idyllia*, this is like *small pictures* and small poems about various things, with a term which is unusual to Latin ears, but not unworthy, which we shall return to.¹⁰

The poems are thus described as small pictures, i.e. pastoral in the simple, literary manner, as Servius describes Theocritus. The commitment to this style is emphasized throughout the *argumenta*, which often advise against searching for allegorical interpretations and encourage literal interpretation instead.

Even though the title *Bucolicorum Idyllia* implies that the reissued version is a continuation of the first, as well as a reworking of it, the collection has not only been expanded; the original core has also been reworked. The most evident proof is that the original eleven poems of the *Bucolicon* have been transformed into twelve poems in the new edition. After the first twelve poems, five entirely new poems have been added.

Between the 'old' and the new parts Hessus has inserted an epigram ("Helius Eobanus Hessus lectori salute"), in which he explains to his reader how this is the end of the original cycle of poems, which were juvenile poems composed at an age for which they were appropriate, and that newly written poems in a more serious tone follow. The metatextual poem between the two parts of the work shows how Hessus does not attempt to create a closed entity or a sequel of poems narrating a

¹⁰ 'Neque illud forte silentio praetereundum, quod haec quae nunc Idyllia sunt, olim sub primam editionem eclogae Virgiliana imitatione inscribebantur. Nunc posteaquam aetate iam proveciore Theocritum totum Latino carmine convertit, maluit Idyllia, hoc est fere, Imagunculas, et de variis rebus parva poemata inscribere, vocabulo Latinis forte auribus insueto, non indigno tamen quod recipiatur', see Hessus, *Bucolicorum Idyllia*, fol. 4v.

progressing story, as one often sees in collections of bucolic poetry, for instance in Hessus's own *Bucolicon* of 1509.

If we look at the two groups of poems, they fall into two categories. Whereas the first work features Hessus a great deal, sometimes behind the cover of masques, as an *exemplum* the later poems more explicitly reach out: two of the five new poems – 15 and 17 – are encomia, and three – 14, 16, and 17 – are dedicated to important men. Only poem number 13 does not contain a direct address to a real person.¹¹ This division of the poems into a group of personal poems and one concerned with extrapersonal and more societal matters is supported by Hessus's dedicatory poem. Here (v. 61–62), Hessus demonstrates the difference between the old and the new poems as two different ways of causing offence: the early work offends for moral reasons relating to content,¹² and the later work for stylistic reasons because of the incompatibility of form and content.¹³

Earlier in the dedicatory poem (v. 31–34), too, Hessus describes how the new poems differ from the earlier ones by their grandiosity and how they do not stay in the rural, bucolic environment, but move towards the city. He defends himself against a self-imposed accusation of violating bucolic decorum in this respect¹⁴ by referring to Virgil's *urbanitas*, but also by stating that his primary model for the work, Theocritus, sang about kings in his bucolic poems (v. 51–52).

We thus find that Hessus is making a point of his return to a genre of which, according to conventions, it is no longer fitting to make use at his age and status in life. The explicit division of the work into an old and a new part underlines the contrast further. The paratexts demonstrate that Hessus's venture is indeed controversial as seen by contemporary norms, but it also points us in the direction of the way Hessus attempts to deal with the conflict with the genre conventions.

The revision and division of a bucolic work into a 'juvenile' and an 'adult' part is not an unknown thing. In fact, it makes the general structure of Hessus's second edition similar to that of the famous and influential

¹¹ In the 1539 edition Hessus has added a title, which directly links the poem with the real world: *De collapsio scholae et reipublicae statu*. See Hessus, *Bucolicorum Idyllia*, fol. 50v.

¹² 'because it renders too many love stories' ('nimios quod cantat amores').

¹³ 'because it is too proud' ('quod nimis alta sapit').

¹⁴ V. 41–42: 'Forsan erunt qui nos legem servasse negabunt/ Carminis, exemplo nec potuisse trahi' – 'There may be those who will say that I have violated the rules of this type of poetry and that I cannot have been following any model', see Hessus, *Bucolicorum Idyllia* 1528.

bucolic work of 1498, *Adolescentia* by Giovanni Battista Mantovano, the Christian role model for bucolic poetry, in which Hessus had found many an inspiration for his *Bucolicon*.¹⁵

The Translation and the Commentary

In the paratextual material accompanying the translation of Theocritus from 1530/1531, it is only natural that the focus of attention is Theocritus and his bucolic style. But the particular focus results in an interesting version of the comparison of the two classical authors of bucolic poetry. Three texts introduce the translation: a prose introduction accounting for the life of Theocritus, *inventio* and *discrimen* of the bucolic poems; a poem by Erasmus Ebner celebrating Hessus and his translation ("Erasmi Ebneri Epigramma"); and a dedicatory poem by Hessus to Hieronymus Ebner (1477–1532), father of Erasmus Ebner (1511–1577) ("Magnifico ac ornatissimo viro domino Hieronymo Ebnero, inclytæ civitatis Nurenbergæ Senatori, etc. Domino suo colendo, Helius Eobanus Hessus Salutem Dicit"). The texts, especially the two by Hessus, function not only as an introduction to the translation, but more or less like a traditional Servian or Donatian *accessus*.¹⁶

Although the Donatian-Servian *accessus* to Virgil seems to be the model, Theocritus is not compared to other bucolic authors in the prose preface, even though Virgil is compared to Theocritus. This might be explained with respect to chronology: Since he is the inventor of the genre, no other bucolic poets have affected his work. But in his dedicatory poem

¹⁵ H. Vredeveld, who has worked extensively on Hessus's literary production, has described the relationship between Hessus and Giovanni Battista Mantovano in several works: "A Neo-Latin Satire on love-Madness. The third Eclogue of Eobanus Hessus' *Bucolicon* of 1509", *Daphnis* 14 (1985) 673–719; "Pastoral Inverted. Baptista Mantuanus' Satiric Eclogues and Their Influence on the *Bucolicon* and *Bucolicorum Idyllia* of Eobanus Hessus", *Daphnis* 14 (1985) 461–496; "The *Bucolicon* of Eobanus Hessus. Three Versions of Pastoral", in Revard S.P. – Rädle F. – Di Cesare M.A. (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Wolfenbüttel, 12 August to 16 August 1985* (Binghamton NY: 1988) 375–382. There is also valuable information about Hessus's use of Giovanni Battista Mantovano in Vredeveld's notes in Hessus, *The Poetic Works of Helius Eobanus Hessus*.

¹⁶ On the title page it is even stated about the prose introductions that they: 'accesse-runt recens Theocriti genus, ac vita', see Theocritus, *Eidyllia trigintaseis*, fol. A1r. Although it is not our main focus here, it is interesting to notice how the plan for dealing with the work of Theocritus is defined by the traditional way of dealing with the normative model of the bucolic genre, the Donatian-Servian *accessus*.

to Hieronymus Ebner, Hessus touches upon the relationship between Theocritus and Virgil. In v. 29–32 he writes:

The muse of Maro from Andes is not as diverse; he was a cultivator of simple material. And yet, one could here identify the great Maro's excessive theft, but I have found it worthy of no shame.¹⁷

Hessus underlines how Theocritus surpasses Virgil in the variety of themes in his poems, and doing so Hessus applies the term *simplex* to Virgil, exactly the term traditionally used to qualify Theocritus in opposition to Virgil, as we saw in the quotation from Servius. This is remarkable, maybe even provocative. But Hessus does not stop here; he uses the term *furtum*, with the adjective elaboration *plurimum*, to designate Virgil's loans from Theocritus. I believe that *furtum* here must be understood within the same lines as his use of *simplex*, that is, with direct recognition of the hardly flattering etymology of the word: theft. It hereby contributes to underlining the richness and variation of the Theocritean poems, as well as the significant role that Theocritus played in the composition of Virgil's *Eclogues*.

Furtum is, of course, not an unusual way of denominating intertextual loans, but I think it likely to consider that Hessus plays with the etymological connotations of the word in order to accentuate the qualities of Theocritus. This interpretation of *furtum* as a provocative, playful accusation of Virgil is, I believe, supported by the enjambment *plurima* in v. 32, which with its position as well as its meaning underlines the gravity of *furtum*, and the immediate redemption of Virgil in the same line ('sed nullo digna pudore legi'). Another, extratextual argument for my interpretation of *furtum* as 'theft' may be found in the commentary on Virgil by Joachim Camerarius, which was issued in 1556 together with Hessus's *Adnotationes*. Here Camerarius elaborates on the same subject:

Thus he fits together excerpts everywhere, famous things, into a splendid narration, with such gravity [i.e. 'gravitas' referring to the new level of meaning added by Virgil, or:] with such authority ['gravitas' referring to Virgil's technical skills as a poet] that it seems not as much as if he has used something from someone else, than as if he has produced it himself, *even though the most honorary loans [or 'thefts'] do not escape the learned*; they are so well hidden [*abest*] that the poet is so eager to highlight them ['caelo', 'engrave']

¹⁷ 'Tam varia Andino non est sua Musa Maroni/ Materiae cultor simplicis ille fuit/ Et tamen agnoscas hic magni furta Maronis/ Plurima, sed nullo digna pudore legi'.

that he has even exposed them in the title of the work, *in order that no one can rightfully make accusations against him of a crime resembling fraud*.¹⁸

Camerarius also uses the term *furtum* (*furta*), and, just like Hessus, he does so with a superlative adjective elaboration, *honestissima*. He even goes on to prove how Virgil, by titling his work *Eclogae*, a title he interprets as meaning “selections”, underlines that not every sentence in the work is composed by Virgil himself. As mentioned, Hessus’s *Adnotationes* is included in the edition of Camerarius’s commentary. The care taken by Camerarius to modify the term *furtum* in this passage may thus reflect the passage in Hessus’s commentary, thereby indicating that Camerarius considered Hessus’s use of the term as having a provocative tone.

In the commentary on Virgil’s *Eclogues*, *Adnotationes*, Hessus describes the stylistic relationship between the works of Virgil and Theocritus as follows:

He is truly like and similar to Theocritus in every respect with respect to the argument, except that in many cases he [Virgil] mixes in allegories, while on the contrary, Theocritus described everything in a simple manner, without the covers of tropes; this is the only case in which Servius describes him as dissenting from the former. But most often Virgil uses something from Theocritus for this purpose, so that he creates something completely different and adjusts it to his own purpose. He does that in such a way that the phrases, which are unquestionably uttered *simply* by Theocritus, are, when uttered by Virgil, turned into another meaning *figuratively*. But the simplicity of the pastoral style as well as the *decorum* of the persons is visible everywhere.¹⁹

The superiority of Theocritus with respect to variation is not mentioned here; Hessus is focused on the key writer, Virgil, whose superiority is explained by his addition of the allegorical level to the words of Theocritus.

¹⁸ ‘Itaque undique exceptas praeclarissimas res, luculenta expositione concinnavit, ea quidem grauitate, ut non tam aliunde sumisse, quam ipse a sese protulisse uideatur, etsi *doctis illa honestissima furta* ignota non sunt, quae tantum abest ut caelare studuerit Poeta, ut etiam ipsa operis inscriptione prodiderit, *ne quis quasi doli mali crimen ipsi iure possit intendere*’, see Camerarius, *In Publii Vergilii Maronis Bucolica* 6, my emphases.

¹⁹ ‘Verum argumento materiae illi [i.e. Theocrito] par et per omnia similis, nisi quod allegorias plerunque miscet, cum contra omnia *simpliciter*, et sine troporum involucris describat Theocritur [sic], qua in re tantum hunc ab illo dissentire scribit Servius: plerunque tamen huc quaedam ab illo sumit, ut et prorsus alia faciat, et suo usui accomodat: sic, ut quae ab illo constant simplicissime dicta, ab hoc figurate, ad aliud quiddam significandum detorqueantur: observatis tamen ubique et pastoralis sermonis simplicitate, et personarum decoro’, see Hessus, “Adnotationes”, in Camerarius, *In Publii Vergilii Maronis Bucolica*, 162–163, my emphases.

Hessus uses rhetorical terminology, just like Donatus and Servius did, in his characterization of styles by saying that Theocritus' poems are 'sine troporum inuolucris', i.e. Theocritus only uses *figures of speech*, whereas Virgil adds *figures of thought*. The loans are not described as *furtum* in this text. On the contrary, in this description Hessus seems to conceive of the loans as connecting the two authors: even though Virgil adds an entirely new dimension to his poems – to the genre – he does so by using Theocritus's poems as a base. Hessus is much more concerned with literary technique than moral or qualitative judgment in his commentary. In the *argumentum* to Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* we find a parallel use of the term:

First, thus, he excuses the seriousness of the theme because he is forced here to use something slightly more sublime than the pastoral style permits: since it seems that Theocritus, whom he imitates, has not done this at all, although he himself also celebrates the praise of mighty men, he continues to do so in a simple manner and without any figurative level.²⁰

This example, too, shows us how Hessus is careful to use simplex as a stylistic term without qualitative connotations. He uses the same means as in the quotation above from the *praefatio* of the commentary: the contrasting of *simplicitas* with *figura*, and the alignment of Virgil and Theocritus. Again, it is not with regard to content that Virgil differs from Theocritus; it has to do with their respective employment of style.

We have thus seen how Hessus makes a point out of his surprising return to bucolic poetry as a poet by underlining the division between old and new poems, and how he furthermore takes the unconventional position that Theocritus is a role model for bucolic poetry of a graver and more urban form. This point of view is boldly emphasized in his introduction to the translation of Theocritus where he reverses the traditional order of the two, as established by the late antique commentaries, by playing with traditional terms for the description of style as well as conceptions of the intertextual relationship between the two works. In the commentary, which chronologically is placed between the translation and the reissued poems, we find a more moderate, but yet not entirely dissenting description of the style of the two authors and their interrelation. Where the

²⁰ 'Primo igitur argumenti gravitatem excusat, quod eo paulo sublimiori hic uti coactus sit, quam permittat pastoralium sermonum simplicitas: cum id minime videat fecisse Theocritum, quem imitatur, qui tametsi et ipse quoque laudes fortium virorum celebrat, simpliciter tamen et sine omni figura perpetuo id agit', see Camerarius, *In Publī Vergili Maronis Bucolica*, 186.

statements in the prefatory writings of the translation were provocative in their statement of a point, the commentary steers free of moral or qualitative judgment and keeps to analyses of style.

Conclusion

Considering the three works of Hessus together we see a renewed interest in bucolic poetry in a mature author and an intriguing new interest in the classical Greek model. In the commentary and the commentary-like paratexts of the translation we detect a decreasing interest in the ranking of poets – in the commentary on Virgil, the comparison of him with Theocritus is that of a stylistic nature; it does not resolve in a qualitative judgment or a conclusion set forth in absolute terms, as we might find in the conclusion of Servius. This point is set forth in more rigid terms in the paratexts of the translation. Here, Hessus provokes to make his point clear. I consider the bold use of the term *furtum* as influenced by the work in question: Theocritus' poems. Hessus shows his loyalty towards Theocritus, whom he has translated by being 'on his side' in the discussion of the relationship between his *Idylls* and the *Eclogues* of Virgil. In the years 1528–1531, Hessus's occupations with bucolic poetry concern a return to the *original source* of the genre – Theocritus – in different forms. This can, of course, be interpreted with reference to Hessus's partaking in the reformed environments marked by Luther and Melanchthon, but it has an important point in his self-representation, too. The epigram from the title page of *Bucolicon* demonstrates what he may be aiming at, for there is an interesting variation of the triadic ranking of Theocritus, Virgil, and Giovanni Battista Mantovano in play here: Hessus fuses Virgil and Giovanni Battista Mantovano into 'uterque Maro' (the Marones), thereby compressing them so that they only take up one of the three levels of the '*tricolon auctum*' of bucolic development: the middle one. This means that the last level – the highest – is left vacant for none other than the 'me' in the poem: Hessus himself.²¹

By returning to the original source of bucolic poetry, Hessus has effectively made himself part of the entire bucolic tradition: He wrote eclogues

²¹ Hessus also indicates his own position formally by surpassing the idealized number of poems: both of 'the Marones' collections consist of ten poems, but Hessus's *Bucolicon* consists of eleven.

in imitation of Virgil and Giovanni Battista Mantovano in his first bucolic work of 1509, and he continued, naturally, to write poems in a Christian context in the second edition. Furthermore, he takes a Virgilian position by transferring Theocritus to a Latin context, which he does in the *Bucolicorum Idyllia* as well as in the translation; and he has, of course, entirely appropriated the poems of Theocritus, the inventor of the genre. Thus, Hessus not only places himself at the highest point of bucolic development, chronologically and qualitatively; he embraces and embodies all previous steps in the tradition. At the same time, he has treated bucolic poetry in almost every possible way: as a commentator and teacher, as a translator, and as a poet. The beautiful irony of it all is that the ambitious goal which is set out in his very first bucolic publication is only reached in the return to bucolic poetry in its simplest form.

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- , *Bucolicorum Idyllia XVII. iam tertium ab autore summa diligentia recognita, et nunc primum argumentis et annotationibus, quae pro commentario esse possint, illustrata, in idem, Operum farragines duae, nuper ab eodem qua fieri potuit diligentia contractae, et in hanc, quam uides formam coactae, quibus etiam non parum multa accesserunt nunc primum et nata et aedita* (Schwäbisch Hall, Peter Braubach: 1539).
- , *In Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica ac Georgica adnotationes, ac loci omnes maxime Theocriti, tum etiam Hesiodi quidam, quibus usus est Virgilius, latine reddit per H. Eobanum Hessum. E schola Norica* (Hagenau, Johann Setzer: 1529).
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HORAZ ALS SCHULFIBEL UND ALS ELITÄRER GRÜNDUNGSTEXT
DES DEUTSCHEN HUMANISMUS. DIE ILLUSTRIERTE
HORAZAUSGABE DES JAKOB LOCHER (1498)*

Christoph Pieper

ENGLISH SUMMARY

The article deals with Jakob Locher's edition of Horace's works that was published in Strasbourg in 1498 by the printer Johann Grüninger. It concentrates on Horace's *Odes*, as Locher in his prefatory material exclusively focuses on this part of Horace's oeuvre.

Locher is an important yet underestimated representative of early German humanism. His teachers include Sebastian Brant and Conrad Celtis, and he spent one year in Italy at several centres of humanistic learning. His edition of Horace appeared the same year he was appointed as professor at the University of Ingolstadt, as the successor to his mentor Celtis.

In my contribution, I approach the edition from three angles. First, I comment on the several paratexts: poems by Locher, woodcuts, and a dedicatory letter to the Margrave Charles of Baden that all precede the actual commented edition of Horace. I take my starting point from an epigram in which Locher claims that Horace's text should not be read by ordinary people, but should be reserved for learned readers. As this exclusive claim is contrary to Cristoforo Landino's famous edition of Horace (*ed. pr.* 1482), in which Horace's text is seen as apt reading for any kind of reader, I argue that Locher explicitly wants to present his edition within the general discourse about the lack of learning in Germany and the need for a humanistic movement – an idea that Celtis had famously formulated in his *Ode to Apollo* from 1486. Thus, the aim of Locher's edition is not as exclusive as the epigram might suggest: as a teacher of Germany, and thus occupying a role similar to that of Celtis, he wants to broaden the group of learned people who will also go on to become potential recipients of Horace's poetry. Consequently, in another prefatory poem Locher praises himself as the saviour of Horace.

* Ich danke der Universitätsbibliothek Leiden für die freundliche Erlaubnis, in diesem Beitrag Fotos aus Lochers Horazausgabe veröffentlichen zu dürfen. – Der Artikel entstand auf Einladung von Marc Laureys, bei der IANLS-Konferenz in Münster 2012 an der von ihm organisierten Sektion zur Horazkommentierung der Frühen Neuzeit teilzunehmen. Ich danke ihm für die Einladung sowie den Zuhörern für die lebhafteste Diskussion samt vielen Korrekturen und konstruktiven Hinweisen zu dem von mir Gesagten (namentlich möchte ich Walther Ludwig, Antonio Iurilli, Dieter Wuttke, Karl Enenkel, Roswitha Simons, Marijke Crab und Anja Stadeler nennen). Inspiration erfuhr der Beitrag durch Karl Enenkels NWO-Forschungsprojekt *The New Management of Knowledge in the Early Modern Period: The Transmission of Classical Literature via Neo-Latin Commentaries*, in dem ich von 2008–2009 mitarbeiten durfte; ihm sei für viele anregende Gespräche über frühmoderne Kommentare gedankt.

With this text, he imitates the Ode that Angelo Poliziano had written for the edition by Landino. Intertextual connections with earlier printed editions of Horace are of crucial importance for Locher's commentary anyway. Therefore, the second part of my paper examines links with the commentaries by Landino and by Antonio Mancinelli (*ed. pr.* 1492 as *Horatius cum quattuor commentariis*). A comparison shows that Locher in his commentary combines and abbreviates explanations by Mancinelli and Landino, partly adding those by the ancient authorities Porphyrio and Pseud.-Acro. As Locher has virtually nothing new to say, it seems hard to understand why he dares to present himself as the saviour of Horace. One reason might be the layout of his edition. Locher has rearranged the material of his predecessors in *argumenta*, marginal lemmas, and interlinear explanations. Furthermore, every single poem is accompanied by a woodcut in which the meaning of the text is transposed into an easily recognizable, typical situation. Obviously, the main focus of the commentator Locher is not on the renewed content of his comments, but on its didactical presentation, which is aimed at beginning students and fits Locher's claims in the paratexts.

The third part of the paper analyzes strategies with which Locher legitimizes his own authority as commentator. On the one hand, he is keen on stressing that he himself is a poet laureate who is explaining an ancient poet laureate (the paratexts emphasize Horace's coronation by the Muses in a woodcut and an accompanying poem). Obviously, Locher wants to be seen in closest possible connection with Horace. On the other hand, he also presents himself as closely related to Apollo. In one prefatory poem, he communicates with Apollo about the nature and value of poetry, thus stressing his own status as a divinely inspired poet (*vates*). Additionally, the link with Apollo also establishes a connection with Conrad Celtis, who famously connected himself closely to Apollo and whom Locher in previous years had addressed as a protective deity of his own studies. Finally, in the paratexts Locher establishes a link between himself and the dedicatee, the Margrave of Baden, who had been his former pupil. It is through his teaching program that Locher wants to gain a public position that is comparable to that of political rulers. Thus, Locher clearly continues Conrad Celtis's didactic program for Germany, in which literary and political cultures are closely intertwined.

In the appendix of the article, I have edited Locher's commentary on Horace's *Ode* I, 14, showing in detail where he borrowed from Landino, Mancinelli, Porphyrio, and Pseud.-Acro.

Einleitung

Beim Thema „Horaz und der deutsche Frühhumanismus“ denkt man heute vor allem an den „deutschen Horaz“ Konrad Celtis.¹ Sehr viel weniger

¹ Vgl. etwa Schäfer E., *Deutscher Horaz. Conrad Celtis, Georg Fabricius, Paul Melissus, Jakob Balde. Die Nachwirkung des Horaz in der neulateinischen Dichtung Deutsch-*

automatisch erinnert man sich an seinen Zeitgenossen Jakob Locher, der sich selbst den Beinamen *Philomusus* gab.² Doch war es Locher, der am 12. März 1498 bei Johannes Grüninger in Straßburg die erste durch einen deutschen Humanisten kommentierte Horazedition herausbrachte, sechzehn Jahre, nachdem Cristoforo Landino in Florenz bei Antonio Miscomini den ersten gedruckten Horazkommentar publiziert hatte,³ und sechs Jahre nach dem Erscheinen der Ausgabe *Horatius cum quatuor commentariis*, die Antonio Mancinelli in Venedig bei Filippo Pincio herausgebracht hatte. Beide italienische Vorgängereditionen waren sehr erfolgreich und wurden so oft nachgedruckt, dass man davon ausgehen kann, dass sie auch außerhalb Italiens bekannt waren, als Locher sich daran machte, seine eigene Ausgabe zu kompilieren. Die Straßburger Edition hat bisher in der Forschung kaum mehr als kursorische Berücksichtigung gefunden.⁴ Das verwundert um so mehr, als die Ausgabe in

lands (Wiesbaden: 1976); Auhagen U. – Lefèvre E. – Schäfer E. (Hrsg.), *Horaz und Celtis* (Tübingen: 2000), sehr lesenwert darin v.a. der Beitrag von Gruber J.: „Imitation und Distanzierung – Celtis' Lebensentwurf und Horaz“, 39–51, der argumentiert, dass für Celtis „die Distanzierung oder Überbietung des Horaz bedeutender [war] als die Horaznachfolge“ (49).

² Zu Lochers Leben vgl. Hehle J., Art. „Locher, Jakob“, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 19 (Leipzig: 1884) 59–63; Ukena P., Art. „Locher (Philomusus), Jakob“, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 14 (Berlin: 1985) 743–744; Kühlmann W. – Niehl R., Art. „Locher (Philomusus), Jakob“, in Worstbrock, F.J. (Hrsg.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*, Bd. 2,1 (Berlin: 2009), Sp. 62–86. Grundlegend sind Hehle J., *Der schwäbische Humanist Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471–1528). Eine kultur- und literarhistorische Skizze*, 3 Bde. (Ehingen: 1873–1875) und Heidloff G., *Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk des Humanisten Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471–1528)* (Diss. Universität Freiburg: 1975); einen lesenswerten Überblick bietet Coppel B.: „Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471–1528). Musenliebe als Maxime“, in Schmidt P.G. (Hrsg.), *Humanismus im deutschen Südwesten. Biographische Profile* (Sigmaringen: 1993) 151–178.

³ Vgl. die Beschreibung der Ausgabe von Bausi F., Art. „Landino, Cristoforo“, in *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, Bd. 3 (Rom: 1998) 306–309. Bausi macht auch Angaben zum Erfolg der Edition.

⁴ Es ist bezeichnend, dass in der *Enciclopedia Oraziana* (Rom: 1998) Locher kein Lemma gewidmet ist (die Horazedition von 1498 wird allerdings besprochen im von Antonio Iurilli verfassten Art. „Johann Grüninger“, Bd. 3, 272–273; Iurilli bezeichnet die Ausgabe 273 als „monumentale edizione nazionale“). Vgl. auch die Erwähnung der Edition als „iniziativa tipografica più alta prodotta in Germania e riguardante Orazio“ bei Iurilli A., „Il corpus oraziano fra editoria e scuole umanistiche nei secoli XV e XVI“, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3 (1996) 147–158, hier 154. Auch Friis-Jensen K., „Commentaries on Horace's Art of Poetry in the Incunabular Period“, *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995) 228–239, behandelt Lochers Edition nicht. Zu ihrem philologischen Wert wird gerne auf Richard Bentleys positives Urteil in seiner Ausgabe von 1711 verwiesen – ich zitiere nach *Q. Horatius Flaccus ex recensione et cum notis atque emendationibus Richardi Bentlei* (Berlin: 1869) xvi: „Neque vero editiones vetustas omniumque principes negligendas mihi existimavi: Venetam anni MCCCCLXXVIII et Argentinensem Iacobi Locher poetae laureati anni MCCCXCVIII“ („Auch glaubte ich nicht, dass ich die alten Editionen und [vor allem]

mehrfacher Hinsicht besonders ist: Einerseits ist sie reich ausgestattet mit paratextuellem Material; andererseits ist auch der eigentliche Kommentar auffällig gestaltet. Er besteht aus je einem Holzschnitt vor jedem Gedicht, einem kurzen *argumentum* sowie den Kommentarlemmata, die um den horazischen Text angeordnet sind; dazu gibt es, eine Seltenheit in gedruckten Kommentaren der Inkunabelzeit, reiche interlineare Glossen. Im Folgenden möchte ich die Edition vorstellen und mich dabei auf die *Oden* des Horaz konzentrieren. Ich werde zunächst etwas über die Paratexte sagen, danach die Frage behandeln, wie die Ausgabe intertextuell mit den Horazkommentaren Cristoforo Landinos und Antonio Mancinellis verbunden ist, und drittens etwas zu den angewandten Strategien des Kommentators sagen, mit denen er sein eigenes Werk zu autorisieren versucht.

Jakob Locher konnte bereits auf ein erfolgreiches Leben zurückschauen, als er mit siebenundzwanzig Jahren seine Horazedition bei dem Straßburger Drucker Johann Grüninger publizierte.⁵ Nach Studien in Basel, Freiburg und Ingolstadt u.a. bei Sebastian Brant und kurzzeitig auch bei Konrad Celtis und nach einer Studienreise nach Italien, während der er u.a. Unterricht bei Filippo Beroaldo d.Ä. nahm,⁶ hatte er 1495–1497 an der Freiburger Universität Rhetorik und Poesie unterrichtet und war zugleich Privatlehrer der Markgrafen von Baden. Eine besondere Ehre wurde ihm 1497 zuteil, als ihn der Kaiser Maximilian zum *poeta laureatus* krönte.⁷

die besten von ihnen vernachlässigen durfte: die aus Venedig 1478 und die aus Straßburg des Jakob Locher, des poeta laureatus, von 1498“). Vgl. zudem jüngst Stenuit B., „Le texte d’Horace à la fin du XV^e siècle. L’essor de la philologie moderne“, *Latomus* 68 (2009) 742–753 und idem, „Horace. Éditions incunables à Florence, Venise, Milan et Strasbourg“, *Latomus* 70 (2011) 780–796. Zum Kommentator Locher s. auch die knappen Bemerkungen bei Ludwig W., „Horazrezeption in der Renaissance oder die Renaissance des Horaz“, in *Horace. L’œuvre et les imitations. Un siècle d’interprétations* (Genf: 1992) (= Fondation Hardt / Entretiens sur l’Antiquité classique 39) 305–379 (372–379: Diskussion), hier 331–333. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz* 13 f. bezeichnet Lochers Edition in seinem Kapitel über Celtis als „Anreger der Horazrezeption in Deutschland“. Dauvois N., „Erinnerung an die antiken Schriftsteller und Interkulturalität in den Humanistenkommentaren. Überlegungen am Beispiel der Horazausgaben“, in Dewes E. – Duhem S. (Hrsg.), *Kulturelles Gedächtnis und interkulturelle Rezeption im europäischen Kontext* (Berlin: 2008) 261–274, hier 264 f. bespricht den Holzschnitt zu *Ode* I, 35.

⁵ Vgl. Heidloff, *Untersuchungen* 150 f. über die Bewunderung, die Locher in dieser Zeit entgegengebracht wurde; man habe ihn wie „eine Art Wunderkind“ (151) angesehen.

⁶ Lochers Fulgentius-Ausgabe von 1521 enthält ein Gedicht, in dem er die Namen von neun italienischen Humanisten nennt, von denen er gelernt habe, vgl. Coppel, „Jakob Locher Philomusus“ 155.

⁷ Kühnmann – Niehl, „Locher“ 65 weisen darauf hin, dass Locher auf diese Krönung sehr stolz war und sich „mit Vorliebe als gekrönter Dichter abbilden“ ließ.

Auch die wohl berühmteste Publikation Lochers erschien 1497, seine lateinische Übersetzung (beziehungsweise Bearbeitung)⁸ von Sebastian Brants *Narrenschiff*. Ein Jahr später, 1498 und somit in unmittelbarer zeitlicher Nähe zur Publikation der Horazedition, wechselte Locher als *lector in poesi* und als Nachfolger seines verehrten Lehrers Celtis an die Universität Ingolstadt, wo er bis 1503 und dann erneut von 1506 bis zu seinem Tode im Jahr 1528 unterrichtete.

1. Paratexte

Wenden wir uns nun der Horazedition selber zu, genauer ihren Paratexten. Dem kommentierten Text des Horaz gehen in Lochers Edition voraus:

1. *Jacobi Locher Philomusi poete laureati Epigramma* („Epigramm des gekrönten Dichters Jakob Locher Philomusus“; 20 Verse in elegischen Distichen), fol. <2>r.
2. *Tetrasticon Philomusi* („Gedicht in vier Versen des Philomusus“; 4 Verse wiederum in elegischen Distichen), fol. <2>r.
3. *Kathedra Musarum* (ein Holzstich mit der Krönung des Lyrikers Horaz [*Horatius poeta lyricus*] durch Kalliope), fol. <2>r.
4. *Loquitur Calliope Horatium coronans* („Kalliope spricht, während sie Horaz krönt“; 24 Verse in elegischen Distichen), fol. <2>r.
5. *Epistola ad illustrem principem Carolum Marchionem Badensem et dominum suum observandissimum Jacobi Locher poete lau[re]ati* („Brief Jakob Lochers, des gekrönten Dichters, an den ehrwürdigen Fürsten, den Markgrafen Karl von Baden und seinen verehrungswürdigsten Herrn“; Prosa), fol. <2>v–3r.
6. *Epigramma Philomusi* („Epigramm des Philomusus“; 6 Verse in elegischen Distichen), fol. 3r.
7. *Vita Horatii Flacci Venusini compendiosa* („kurze Lebensbeschreibung des Horatius Flaccus aus Venusia“; Prosa), fol. 3r–v.
8. *Philomusus cum Apolline loquitur et contra poeticos hostes exacuit* („Philomusus spricht mit Apollo und wendet sich zum Kampf gegen die Feinde der Poesie“; 68 Verse in sapphischen Strophen), fol. 3v–<4>r.
9. *Horatius ex Elisiis Philomusum alloquitur* („Horaz wendet sich aus dem Elysium an Philomusus“; 18 Verse in elegischen Distichen), fol. <4>r.
10. eine schematische Erklärung der von Horaz verwendeten Metra, fol. <4>r–<6>v.

⁸ Zu Lochers Arbeitsweise als bearbeitender Übersetzer vgl. die grundlegende Studie von Hartl N., *Die Stultifera navis. Jakob Lochers Übertragung von Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff*, 2 Bde. (München – Berlin: 2001).

Es lohnt sich, einige dieser Paratexte genauer anzusehen. Nach einem recht konventionellen *Epigramma*, in dem Locher Horaz als göttlichen Dichter und Ehre der alten Römer („gloria Romani generis“) preist, folgt das „Tetrasticon Philomusi“ überschriebene Gedicht. Es lautet:

Qui venis Aonii nemoris spectare sorores,
 Illotis manibus ledere sacra cave.
 Non hec monstrantur fatuo spectacula vulgo;
 Huc veniant quorum mens benedocta sapit.⁹

Der du kommst, um die Schwestern des aonischen Hains zu betrachten, hüte dich davor, mit ungewaschenen Händen ihr Heiligtum zu schänden. Dieses Schauspiel wird dem törichten Volk nicht gezeigt; hierher sollen nur diejenigen kommen, deren Geist wohlgelehrt ist und zu denken versteht.

Die Verse feiern Horaz als verehrungswürdigen Dichter und seinen Text als ein Heiligtum, das nur Auserwählten offensteht.¹⁰ Dass solch ein Ausspruch durchaus nicht selbstverständlich ist, beweist ein Blick auf den Brief, mit dem Cristoforo Landino sechzehn Jahre zuvor seine Horazedition Guidobaldo da Montefeltro gewidmet hatte. Gegenüber Lochers Exklusivität steht bei Landino die größtmögliche Inklusivität: „Denn welche Menschenrasse, welcher Stand, welches Lebensalter, welches Geschlecht, schließlich welches Lebenslos sollte aus diesem ungeheuer breiten Quell nicht die Vorschriften für sein Leben schöpfen?“¹¹ Es ist in der Forschung seit längerem bekannt, dass Locher Landinos Kommentar gut gekannt hat; wie weitgehend die Verbindung ist, werde ich weiter unten besprechen. Wie erklärt sich dann aber die diametral andere Vorstellung vom jeweils eigenen Zielpublikum? Es ist möglich, dass ein Nachdruck von Landinos Edition aus dem Jahr 1490 das Verbindungsglied darstellt. Giovanni Francesco Superchi ließ in Venedig bei Giorgio Arrivabene Landinos Kommentar gemeinsam mit den spätantiken Scholien von Porphyrio und Pseud.-Acro drucken (eine wichtige Vorstufe zum kurz darauf entstandenen, bereits erwähnten *Horatius cum quattuor commentariis*, bei

⁹ *Horatii Flacci Venusini poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque ad Odarum concentus et sententias* (Straßburg, Johann Grüninger: 1498), fol. <2>r.

¹⁰ Die Verse sind umso erstaunlicher, wenn man akzeptiert, was bereits Hehle, *Der schwäbische Humanist*, Bd. 1, 32, behauptet hat und was durch Stenuit, „Horace. Éditions incunables“ 784n.14 bestätigt wird: Lochers Kommentar sei in erster Linie an Anfänger gerichtet.

¹¹ „Nam quod porro genus hominum, quis ordo, quae aetas, quis sexus, quae denique conditio ex hoc amplissimo fonte suae vitae officia non hauriat?“ Zitiert nach Landino Cristoforo, *Scritti critici e teorici*, hrsg. und komm. von R. Cardini, 2 Bde. (Rom: 1974), hier Bd. 1, 202.

dem den drei genannten Erklärern noch die Erläuterungen des römischen Humanisten Antonio Mancinelli beigegeben wurden).¹² Superchi, der wie Locher den Beinamen Philomusus führte,¹³ beginnt sein Widmungssgedicht an Giovanni Sforza wie folgt:

Vulgus iners, indocta cohors, cui blanda voluptas,
 Alea cui fallax caecaeque obliviae mentis
 Sunt cordi [...]:
 [...]

 I procul hinc, sacri ne pollue limina vatis.¹⁴

Träges Volk, ungelehrte Masse, der schmeichelnde Lust und der unbeständige Würfel, Zeitvertreib für den blinden Geist, am Herzen liegen [...]: Geh weit weg von hier und beschmutze nicht die Schwelle des heiligen Dichters.

Es ist durchaus vorstellbar, dass Locher sich vom italienischen Humanisten, der zudem wie er *poeta laureatus* war, gerade wegen der Namensgleichheit angezogen fühlte, ja es ist selbst nicht auszuschließen, dass die beiden sich während Lochers Italienaufenthalt kennengelernt haben.

Ob nun eine Verbindung zu Superchis Gedicht intendiert ist oder nicht, mag dahingestellt sein.¹⁵ Ganz offenkundig ist Lochers elitärer Ansatz jedoch mit der Tatsache zu verbinden, dass er sich und seine Generation als Wegbereiter der humanistischen Bewegung in Deutschland versteht.¹⁶ Vor allem der fünfte und achte Paratexte sind als Anzeichen hierfür heranzuziehen. Der achte Paratext ist ein poetisches Zwiegespräch zwischen Locher und dem Gott Apollo, in dem ersterer zunächst erfahren möchte, was das Wesen lyrischer Dichter sei, um anschließend den Gott zum Kampf gegen das Barbarentum der Unbildung aufzurufen. Das Gedicht ist metrisch wie inhaltlich eng mit Konrad Celtis' berühmter *Ode an*

¹² Zu Superchis Edition vgl. die knappen Bemerkungen bei Iurilli, „Il corpus oraziano“ 154.

¹³ Allerdings nahm Locher den Beinamen Philomusus nicht erst in Italien an, wie man lange glaubte, sondern seit seinem Studium bei Konrad Celtis 1492 in Ingolstadt, vgl. Mertens D., „Jacobus Locher Philomusus als humanistischer Lehrer der Universität Tübingen“, *Bausteine zur Tübinger Universitätsgeschichte* 3 (1987) 11–38, hier 16.

¹⁴ Horatius, *Opera [cum commentariis Acronis, Porphyronis et Landini]* (Venedig, Giorgio Arrivabene: 1490), fol. <3>v, v. 1–6.

¹⁵ Ludwig, „Horazrezeption“ 332 geht (ohne nähere Begründung) davon aus, dass Locher Superchis Ausgabe gekannt und auch beim Verfassen seiner Paratexte benutzt habe. Unerheblich für die Frage des Einflusses, aber dennoch bemerkenswert ist, dass in manchen modernen Bibliothekskatalogen die Edition Superchis (dessen Name im Druck als Io. Franc. Philomusus Pisarenis erscheint) fälschlicherweise unter dem Namen Jakob Lochers geführt wird.

¹⁶ Vgl. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz* 14.

Apollo verbunden, die dieser als Abschluss seiner *Ars versificandi et carminum* von 1486 publiziert hatte und im Jahr 1500 erneut als *Ode* IV, 5 in seine Odensammlung aufnahm. In dieser wird *Apollo* angerufen und gebeten, Italien zu verlassen und ins bisher ungebildete Deutschland zu kommen, um dort den *barbarus sermo* (V. 23) zu verjagen.¹⁷ Ganz ähnlich argumentiert Locher: Nachdem er die Gegner der humanistischen Studien mit scharfen Worten als eine feindliche Heerschar charakterisiert hat, die sich mit barbarischem Wüten auf Locher stürze,¹⁸ setzt der Philomusus sich und seine Mit-Humanisten deutlich von solchen Kulturfeinden ab:

Nos sumus pauci numero, sacras qui
Versibus cultis recolunt Camenas
Quas chorus flectit reficitque blanda
Castalis¹⁹ unda.²⁰

Wir sind wenige an der Zahl, die mit gelehrten Versen die heiligen Musen aufs Neue verehren, welche der Reigentanz umherwirbelt und die schmeichlerische kastalische Welle erquickt.

Kurz darauf dann folgt, wie bei *Celtis*, Lochers Aufforderung, der Gott möge nach Deutschland kommen und dort kulturstiftend tätig werden.²¹

Noch expliziter verweist Locher im eigentlichen Widmungsschreiben an den badischen Markgrafen Karl auf die deplorable kulturelle Gegenwart im deutschen Reich:

Sed cum principum Germanie status et conditiones considero, invenio plus opere rebus militaribus Mavortiisque strepitibus nostra res potuisse quam studiis litterarum. Itaque negotia publica plus honoris quam otia suavissima huc usque meruerunt. Sed quia principes et proceres nationumstrarum magis in bello quam literariis palestris versati externis tum Grecis tum

¹⁷ Zum programmatischen Charakter dieser Ode für den gesamten deutschen Frühhumanismus vgl. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz* 3 f.; Frings I., „Celtis' Ode an Apoll – eine Ode an Horaz“, in Auhagen – Lefèvre – Schäfer (Hrsg.), *Horaz und Celtis* 135–151; Robert J., *Konrad Celtis und das Projekt der deutschen Dichtung. Studien zur humanistischen Konstitution von Poetik, Philosophie, Nation und Ich* (Tübingen: 2003) 83–92.

¹⁸ Vgl. v. 49 f.: „Barbaros in nos agitat furores / turba dictatis inimica nostris“.

¹⁹ Korrigiert aus „Castulis“ im Druck, einem offensichtlichen Druckfehler. Vgl. für die Junktur z.B. Pseud.-Vergil, *Culex* 17 („Castaliae [...] unda“) oder *Corpus Tibullianum* (= Lygdamus) III, 1,16 („Castaliamque undam“); für „Castilia aqua“ vgl. z.B. Ovid, *Amores* I, 15,36 und Martial VII, 22,4. Das Adjektiv „Castalis“ (statt „Castalius“) ist in der Antike allerdings nur zweimal bei Martial belegt (IX, 18,7 und IV, 14,1).

²⁰ *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. 3v, v. 57–60.

²¹ Vgl. v. 61 f.: „Ergo quid cessas pharetras ciere / Phoebe, et indoctas superare gentes“ („Was zögerst du also, deine Köcher zu nehmen, Phoebus, und die ungelehrten Völker zu besiegen?“) und v. 65: „I, veni nostros, precor, ad penates“ („Komm zu unseren Hausgöttern, ich bitte dich!“).

denique Latinis contemptui fuerunt tamquam ipsi soli sapientiam philosophique studia amplecterentur.²²

Aber wenn ich über den Zustand und die gegenwärtige Situation der Fürsten Deutschlands nachdenke, dann entdecke ich, dass unser Land mehr in Kriegsführung und martialischem Gebrüll als in der Pflege der Wissenschaft vermochte. Daher hat bis heute öffentliche Tätigkeit mehr Ehre eingebracht als eine sehr angenehme Muße. Aber weil die Fürsten und die Edlen unserer Länder mehr Erfahrung mit dem Führen von Kriegen als mit literarischen Wettkämpfen hatten, wurden sie im Ausland, sowohl bei den Griechen als auch schließlich bei den Lateinern, verachtet, gleichsam als ob nur diese die Weisheit und philosophische Studien umarmen würden.

Das Zitat zeigt zweierlei: Einerseits beschreibt es eine düstere Gegenwart, vor deren Hintergrund es nicht verwundert, dass Locher alles daran setzt, seine Ausgabe als Meilenstein der neuen humanistischen Bewegung zu stilisieren, die Deutschland aus dem geistigen Verfall wieder in den Kreis der Kulturnationen führen soll. Andererseits geht er aus dem Wissen, dass Deutschland ein kulturelles Entwicklungsland ist, ganz bewusst die Konfrontation mit gerade den beiden Nationen an, die in Europa eine intellektuelle Vormachtstellung für sich beanspruchen: Italien und Griechenland. Auf ähnliche Weise wird im neunten Paratext argumentiert, einem bereits 1992 von Walther Ludwig behandelten Gedicht („Horatius ex Elisiis Philomusum alloquitur“).²³ Horaz wendet sich direkt aus dem Elysium an den Philomusus und dankt ihm dafür, dass er nicht länger im Kerker des Vergessens verweilen müsse. Durch Lochers Werk habe er seinen Körper verjüngen können und sei zu neuem Leben erweckt.²⁴ Es folgt das höchste Lob, das einem deutschen Humanisten zuteil werden kann:

Non Danai tantos in me posuere labores
 Itala nec pubes nec Venusina cohors.
 Te iuvenem promptum pugnax Germania misit
 Qui fidibus modulos et mihi membra dares.²⁵

²² *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. <2>v.

²³ Vgl. Ludwig, „Horazrezeption“ 332. Ludwig hat keine hohe Meinung von der poetischen Qualität der Verse: „[...] es charakterisiert auch das poetische Vermögen Lochers, daß er anstelle eines in diesem Fall doch wohl näher liegenden lyrischen Maßes das elegische Distichon wahlte“. Allerdings lenkt er sogleich ein: „Freilich konnte Locher auch eine sapphische Ode schreiben“ (ebd.).

²⁴ Vgl. den programmatischen Vers 10 dieses Gedichts: „Me vivum dulcis o Philomuse facis“ („Süßer Philomusus, du erweckst mich zum Leben.“); *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. <4>r.

²⁵ *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. <4>r, v. 11–14.

Weder die Griechen noch die italienische Jugend oder die Menge aus Venusia haben so viel Mühe auf mich verwendet. Dich Jüngling hat das streitbare Deutschland bereitgefunden und gesandt, damit du den Saiten das Maß und mir den Körper gibst.

Lochers Selbststilisierung wird noch dadurch verstärkt, dass sein Gedicht die Ode imitiert, die Angelo Poliziano dem Horazkommentar Cristoforo Landinos von 1482 vorangestellt hatte und in der er Landino als Retter des Horaz vor Gefangenschaft und Vergessenheit feiert.²⁶ Landinos Ausgabe von 1482 mag als erster gedruckter Horazkommentar solch überschwengliches Lob verdient haben. Locher verweist nun intertextuell auf diese bahnbrechende Edition; zugleich aber überschreibt er ihre Verdienste, indem er sie implizit als wirkungslos darstellt. Folgt man seinen Versen, so bedarf es eines erneuten Versuches, Horaz vom Tod des Vergessens zu bewahren, da derjenige des Florentiner Vorgängers als offenkundig nicht hinreichend abgetan wird.

2. Intertextualität mit Landinos und Mancinellis Horazkommentaren

Angesichts des Erfolges, dessen sich der Horazkommentar Cristoforo Landinos seit seinem Erscheinen erfreute, zeugt die Aussage Lochers von geradezu dreistem Selbstbewusstsein. Sein Gedicht ist kaum hinreichend mit den oft in Paratexten anzutreffenden Reklamestrategien zur Verkaufsteigerung zu begründen, obwohl die Paratexte auch hierfür ein explizites Zeugnis bieten.²⁷ Wie müssen wir seine Behauptung, er habe mehr Verdienst um Horaz erworben als griechische oder italienische Gelehrte, dann einordnen? Zunächst lässt sich konstatieren, dass Locher in der Praxis das Verdienst der italienischen Humanisten nicht nur anerkennt,

²⁶ Vgl. besonders v. 21–22: „Talem te choreis reddidit et lyrae / Landinus veterum laudibus aemulus“ („Landino, der mit dem Lob der Alten wetteifert, hat dich als einen solchen Dichter den Reigentänzen und der Leier zurückgegeben“). Zitiert nach der Ausgabe Venedig, Bernardus de Tridino: 1486, fol. <1>v.

²⁷ Im ersten Paratext, dem *Epigramma*, verwendet Locher in v. 13 f. zweimal die Junktur „hunc [scil. Horatium] eme“ anstelle erwartbarer Verben wie *legere* oder *sumere* (*Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. <2>r): „Hunc eme qui sophie reserat penetralia dive / Hunc eme qui digitis dulcia plectra ferit“ („Kauf ihn, der die geheimen Kammern der göttlichen Weisheit aufschließt; kauf ihn, der mit seinen Fingern die süße Laute schlägt“). Vgl. zur verstärkten Notwendigkeit von Druckern und Autoren um 1500, ihre Bücher für den Buchmarkt anzupreisen, Brown C.J., *Poets, patrons, and printers. Crisis of authority in late medieval France* (Ithaca – London: 1995) 61–97 (= Kap. 2: „Paratextual interaction between poets and book producers“).

sondern dass seine Ausgabe ohne die Italiener überhaupt nicht denkbar wäre.²⁸ Sein Kommentar fußt vor allem auf der weitverbreiteten Edition *Horatius cum quattuor commentariis*. Vor allem die dort gedruckten Kommentarlemmata Cristoforo Landinos und Antonio Mancinellis werden übernommen, zum Teil ergänzt um einzelne Erklärungen der spätantiken Autoritäten Porphyrio und Pseud.-Acro. Dabei kürzt Locher häufig die Erklärungen der Vorgänger, teilweise kombiniert er sie auch zu neuen Lemmata. Vor allem Landinos längere Kommentare zu Kulturgeschichtlichem im horazischen Text, die manchmal kleine enzyklopädische Essays über römische Realien werden können, reduziert Locher radikal.

Um seine Arbeitsweise zu illustrieren, folgt hier seine Erklärung zum ersten Vers der *Ode* I, 1 des Horaz, „Maecenas atavis edite regibus“ („Maecenas, Sproß von Königen seit vielen Generationen“). Ich gebe graphisch an, wo Locher sich wörtlich oder fast wörtlich Landinos oder Mancinellis bedient, indem ich Zitate von Landino kursiv setze und Zitate von Mancinelli unterstreiche:²⁹

²⁸ Vgl. Köhlmann – Niehl, „Locher“ 64.

²⁹ *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. I r. Übersetzung der marginalen Erklärungen: ‚Mecoenas atavis] Der Autor erreicht das Wohlwollen [des Widmungsträgers Maecenas, CP], indem er ihn aufgrund des Alters seiner Familie lobt. Ebenso sagt Vergil (*Aeneis* III, 94): ‚Harte Dardaner‘; an anderer Stelle derselbe Vergil (*Aeneis* III, 374 f.): ‚Sohn einer Göttin, denn es ist ganz deutlich, dass du unter göttlichen Vorzeichen über das Meer fährst‘. Andererseits hat er Vergil auch getadelt, wenn er sagt (*Aeneis* III, 247): ‚Nachfahren des Laomedon! Ihr seid drauf und dran, einen Krieg zu beginnen, indem ihr unsere Rinder und Stiere schlachtet‘. Außerdem hat Horaz sich einer großen Auxesis [hier im Sinne von ‚Amplificatio‘ gebraucht, vgl. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 2, Sp. 1613, CP] bedient, wenn er sagt ‚Könige seit vielen Generationen‘. Er lobt nämlich nicht nur die gute Abstammung, sondern mit der Abstammung auch die Altehrwürdigkeit der Familie. Es ist nämlich ein ruhmvolles Geschenk des Schicksals, Sohn eines Königs zu sein; noch größeren Ruhm aber bringt es, Sohn eines Mannes zu sein, dessen Vorfahren ebenfalls als Könige herrschten. Die Worte sind in der folgenden Reihenfolge zu lesen: ‚O Maecenas, edite atavis regibus‘ – atavis] Verwandtschaftsgrade kann man steigend und fallend ausdrücken. Steigend heißt es folgendermaßen: Wer dich gezeugt hat, den nennst du Vater. Danach folgt der Großvater (*avus*), genannt nach dem Wort Lebenszeit (*aevus*), weil er älter als der Vater ist. Nach dem Großvater kommt der Urgroßvater (*proavus*), weil er dem Großvater nahe ist (*prope avus*), dann der Ururgroßvater (*abavus*), weil er schon weit weg vom Großvater ist (*procul ab*), schließlich der Urururgroßvater und der Urururgroßvater. Nach dem Urururgroßvater sagt man Vorfahren. Fallend geht es genauso: erst kommt der Sohn, dann der Enkel (*nepos*), weil er später geboren ist (*natus post*), dann folgen der Urenkel, Ururenkel usw. In den Seitenlinien haben wir die folgenden Namen: der Bruder des Vaters heißt Onkel väterlicherseits, der Bruder der Mutter Onkel mütterlicherseits. Der Bruder des Großvaters heißt Großonkel großväterlicherseits, der Bruder der Großmutter Großonkel großmütterlicherseits. – edite] edite ist zusammengesetzt aus ‚e‘ und ‚do‘. ‚E‘ bewirkt bei Komposita manchmal eine Intensitätssteigerung, wie bei ‚eluceo‘, d.h. ‚hell strahlen‘; manchmal hat es die Bedeutung der Präposition ‚extra‘, wie im Fall von ‚emitto‘, ‚nach draußen schicken‘.“

1. interlineare Glosse:
edite] *in lucem generate*³⁰

2. marginale Erklärungen:

Mecoenas atavis] Benivolentiam captat ipsum Mecoenatem a generis vetustate laudando.³¹ Sic Vergilius: ‚Dardanide duri‘; item ‚nate dea nam te maioribus ire per altum / Auspiciis manifesta fides‘; sic contra vituperavit ut ‚bellum etiam pro cede boum stratisque iuvenis / Laomedontiadae‘; preterea magna auxesi usus est qui dixerit ‚atavis regibus‘. Non enim solum nobilitatem verum etiam vetustatem in nobilitate laudavit; preclarum enim munus fortune est nasci ex rege, sed preclarius ex eo rege cuius quoque maiores regnaverint.³² Eritque ordo ‚o Mecoenas edite atavis regibus‘.³³

atavis] *in agnationibus gradibus ascensus descensusque est. Ascendit autem hoc pacto ut qui te genuerit patrem appelles. Deinde est avus ab evo nominatus quia patre antiquior est; post avum proavus quia prope avum inde abavus quia sit iam procul ab ipso avo; postremo est atavus et tritavus. Post tritavum maiores dicimus. Eadem erit ratio in descensu: primo filius inde nepos quia natus post; deinde sequuntur pronepos abnepos etc. Ex lateribus habemus patrum patris fratrem et avunculum matris fratrem. Qui autem avi frater sit magnus patruus dicitur qui aviae magnus avunculus*.³²

³⁰ Locher hat hier Landinos Lemma wohl falsch aufgefasst: ‚generate‘ ist Synonym für ‚in lucem date‘, nicht lediglich für ‚date‘. Vgl. Landino: ‚edite‘] ‚in lucem date idest generate‘. est enim ‚edo‘ ex ‚e‘ et ‚do‘, ‚E‘ aliquando in compositione auget ut ‚eluceo‘ idest ‚valde luceo‘, aliquando vim habet prepositionis ‚extra‘ ut ‚emitto‘ ‚extramitto‘. Verum ego, o lector, iam a principio hoc monitum te esse velim me que occurrerent enodanda vocabula ea me primo semper loco diligenter interpretaturum et absolute ut per omnes suas notiones traducturum ne rursus alio in loco idem sepius repetendum sit. Quod si tibi cum iterum occurret memoria forte iam exciderit invenies omnium indices ex ordine litterarum in ultimo codice positos ut inde veluti ex perenni fonte in tuos usus <h>aurire possis. Sed transeo ad reliqua“.

³¹ Mancinelli: Mecoenas atavis] ‚benivolentiam captat eum a generis vetustate laudando officiaque in se prebita recensendo; appellat enim et praesidium et decus suum‘ – Vgl. auch Landinos Einleitung zu *Ode I, 1*: „Complet autem prima ode munus perfecti exactique exordii. Auditorem enim sibi ab omnibus partibus idoneum reddit. Captat enim statim a principio benevolentiam a Moecenate cum illum a nobilitate generis atque a liberalitate summopere commendat“.

³² Landino: atavis regibus] ‚laudat a genere. Sic Vergilius: ‚Dardanide duri‘; item ‚nate dea nam te maioribus ire per altum / Auspiciis manifesta fides‘; sic contra vituperavit ut ‚bellum etiam pro cede boum stratisque iuvenis / Laomedontiadae‘; preterea magna auxesi usus est qui dixerit ‚atavis regibus‘. Non enim solum nobilitatem verum etiam vetustatem in nobilitate laudavit; preclarum enim munus fortune est nasci ex rege, sed preclarius ex eo rege cuius quoque maiores regnaverint. Verum in agnationibus gradibus ascensus descensusque est. Ascendit autem hoc pacto ut qui te genuerit patrem appelles [...]“. Auch alle anderen Sätze aus Lochers Erklärung stammen von Landino, dessen Lemma aber viel ausführlicher ist, indem er mehr Verwandtschaftsgrade bespricht und Zitate aus antiken Texten zur Bekräftigung anführt.

³³ Ebenso Mancinelli.

edite] *est enim ,edo' ex ,e' et ,do' ,E' aliquando in compositione auget ut ,eluceo' idest ,valde luceo' ; aliquando vim habet prepositionis ,extra' ut ,emitto' ,extramitto'*³⁰

Es zeigt sich, dass kein einziges Wort der ausführlichen Erklärung von Locher selbst stammt. Im Falle dieses Verses stützt er sich zu großen Teilen auf Landino und ergänzt ihn um einige Bemerkungen Mancinellis. Trotz der Länge von Lochers Kommentar ist Landinos Kommentar zum ersten Vers allerdings noch viel ausführlicher, wie die Fußnoten 30 und 32 andeuten. Vor allem dessen Erläuterungen des rhetorischen Systems der Exordialtopik bleiben bei Locher weitgehend außen vor. So erwähnt Landino in seiner Einleitung nicht nur wie Locher das Lob des angesprochenen Maecenas, sondern auch das *initium a re* und *initium a propria persona* und bespricht die Tatsache, dass Horaz das Thema seines Gedichts am Anfang deutlich angebe. Lochers Kommentar ist demgegenüber in der Komplexität deutlich reduziert. Zu einem ähnlichen Ergebnis kommt man, wenn man den gesamten Locherschen Kommentar zur berühmten *Ode I, 14* betrachtet, der in der Appendix meines Beitrages abgedruckt ist. Landino ist nicht mehr so vorherrschend gegenüber Mancinelli, und zudem finden sich auch einige Erläuterungen, die Locher nicht von den beiden humanistischen Gelehrten, sondern aus den spätantiken Scholien übernommen hat. Ansonsten aber bestätigt sich der gewonnene Eindruck: Von Locher selbst stammen außer einiger überleitender Worte in den Marginalglossen nur wenige Interlinearglossen, meist solche, die Worterklärungen geben und offensichtlich für unerfahrene Leser gedacht sind, die ihren Wortschatz erweitern sollen, manchmal auch grammatische Hilfen (wie im Falle „vites“ = „debes vitare“ oder der Angabe eines zu ergänzenden „erit“). Abgesehen von Kürzungen hat er inhaltlich nichts zu bieten, was man in den Vorgängereditionen nicht auch hätte finden können.

Man scheint demnach zusammenfassen zu müssen, dass Locher sicher nicht der erste große Retter des Horaz war.³⁴ Für heutige Leser ist es befremdlich, dass er sich so problemlos der Vorgängereditionen bedient, ohne sie zumindest ehrenhalber zu nennen (die Namen Landino oder Mancinellis habe ich im Kommentar nicht finden können).³⁵ Doch ist

³⁴ Ich äußere mich hier lediglich zum Kommentator Locher, nicht zum Philologen – zu dessen Wert vgl. oben Anm. 4.

³⁵ Landino nennt Pseud.-Acro und Porphyrio als *auctoritates* im Vorwort seiner Edition, vgl. Pieper C., „*Horatius praeceptor eloquentiae*. The *Ars poetica* in Cristoforo Landino's commentary“, in Enenkel K.A.E. – Nellen H. (Hrsg.), *Neo-Latin commentaries and the*

das im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert weniger erstaunlich. In vielem waren Kommentare noch mittelalterlichen Traditionen verpflichtet, und gerade Lochers Layout ist in seiner Aufteilung in Interlinear- und Marginalglossen ein gutes Beispiel hierfür.³⁶ Im Mittelalter aber wurden Kommentare oft anonym verfasst und von späteren Generationen weitergeschrieben.³⁷ Abgesehen von den spätantiken Autoritäten und einigen wenigen mittelalterlichen Kommentatoren, die ebenfalls ein solches Ansehen genossen, dass sie namentlich bekannt wurden, bestand keine Notwendigkeit, die Namen der individuellen Erklärer zu überliefern; der Kommentar war ein Gebrauchstext im Dienst der antiken Literatur. Eine ähnliche Vorstellung scheint auch Locher zu haben: Wenn er seine Vorgänger zu neuen Kommentarlemmata kompiliert, ohne sie zu nennen, so ist er sicher deutlich radikaler als Landino und Mancinelli. Doch auch diese hatten älteres Material ohne Quellenangabe inkorporiert, wie das *argumentum* der Ode I, 14 in der Appendix zeigt, das zum Teil sowohl auf Mancinelli als auch auf Porphyrio zurückgeht.

Trotz alledem sollte man Lochers Anspruch, persönlich etwas besonderes geleistet zu haben, zumindest teilweise ernst nehmen. Hat er inhaltlich gegenüber dem *Horatius cum quattuor commentariis* beinahe nichts Neues zu bieten, so übertrifft er alle italienische Vorgänger doch bei weitem, was die Visualisierung der Informationen angeht.³⁸ Er setzt damit einen didaktischen Trend fort, der auch in Italien zu erkennen ist. Schon Mancinelli hatte mit seinem Kommentar dem manchmal weitschweifigen und dadurch unübersichtlichen Landino eine didaktischere Alternative an die Seite gestellt.³⁹ Doch hatte er sich lediglich um größere inhaltliche Klarheit bemüht. Locher dagegen setzt auch auf Überschaubarkeit des Layouts [Abb. 1]. Die bereits genannte Aufteilung des Kommentars in

management of knowledge in the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period (1400–1700) (Leuven: 2013), 221–240, hier 223. Locher hingegen erwähnt die Namen der spätantiken Kommentatoren in den Paratexten nicht.

³⁶ Vgl. Coppel, „Jakob Locher Philomusus“ 159.

³⁷ Man beachte, dass auch Lochers Name auf der Titelseite der Straßburger Edition nicht genannt wird, sondern ganz allgemein auf Kommentare („annotationes“) verwiesen wird.

³⁸ Iurilli, „Il corpus oraziano“ 154 charakterisiert Lochers Ansatz als „più accurata sistemazione testuale“.

³⁹ Vgl. Coppini D., Art, „Mancinelli, Antonio“, in *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, Bd. 3 (Rom: 1998) 334–335, hier 334: „Rispetto al commento landiniano, esso [il Mancinelli, CP] poteva apparire più completo e più chiaramente e organicamente strutturato, per quanto, o proprio in quanto, più ‚scolasticamente‘“. Coppini verweist hierfür v.a. auf die systematischen *argumenta* und metrischen Erklärungen, die den Gedichten vorausgehen.

Interlinearglossen für kürzere Worterklärungen und Marginalglossen für ausführlichere Bemerkungen hilft dem Leser, das Material zu sichten. Die Marginalia werden im Text durch Buchstaben über den zu erklärenden Wörtern angekündigt, es gibt *maniculae*, kleine Zeigefinger, die auf besonders memorable Verse hinweisen, die der Benutzer auswendig lernen soll (diese Verse finden sich zudem am Ende in einem aparten Index wieder).⁴⁰ Besonders auffällig sind zudem die Holzschnitte, die teilweise aus Grüningers Terenzausgabe des Jahres 1496 übernommen wurden und zudem Ähnlichkeiten mit manchen Illustrationen der *Stultifera navis* haben [Abb. 2].⁴¹ Sie übersetzen Horazens Gedichte in oftmals typische, zumindest aber sehr leicht erkennbare Situationen aus dem täglichen Leben der offenbar in erster Linie deutschen Rezipienten – die Architektur der abgebildeten Häuser und der Kleidungsstil der Menschen verweisen deutlich auf das frühneuzeitliche Deutschland. Alle genannten Charakteristika sorgen dafür, dass der horazische Text einem relativ breiten Publikum zugänglich gemacht wird – ganz im Gegensatz zu der im paratextuellen Material behaupteten Exklusivität der Dichtung. Will man beide Aspekte zusammenbringen, so lässt sich festhalten, dass es Lochers Ziel ist, mit seiner Horazedition die Gruppe der humanistisch Gelehrten in Deutschland zu vergrößern und die des profanen *vulgus* zu verkleinern.⁴²

3. Strategien der Legitimierung

Doch warum ist Locher hierfür überhaupt der geeignete Mann? Ich will einige Hinweise darauf geben, wie er sich in seinem Horazkommentar präsentiert und wie dadurch seine eigene Tätigkeit legitimiert wird. Kurz

⁴⁰ Eine solche „Auflösung der Gedichte des Horaz in Sentenzen“ beschreibt Quint M.-B., *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Horaz-Rezeption* (Frankfurt a. M. etc.: 1987) 242 als typisch mittelalterliche Rezeption der *Oden*.

⁴¹ Vgl. Dauvois, „Erinnerung“ 264 zur Abbildung der *Rota Fortunae* als Holzschnitt für *Ode I, 34* und im Narrenschiff. Nach Dauvois' Interpretation lädt die visuelle Intertextualität den Leser ein, beide Texte in einen Dialog treten zu lassen.

⁴² Vgl. den Brief Lochers, den er nach seiner Rückkehr aus Italien an Johannes Vetter schrieb. Schon in ihm kündigt Locher an, dass er im Geiste des Celtis an der Schaffung einer deutschen humanistischen Bewegung teilnehmen möchte (lateinischer Text und Übersetzung – letztere leicht angepasst – nach Coppel, „Jakob Locher Philomusus“ 156–157): „Feci periculum longe per Latias palaestras, ut et legendo et scribendo nomen Germanicum paene extinctum suscitarem“ – „Ich bin einen weiten, riskanten Weg durch die hohen Schulen Italiens gegangen, um mit Lesen und Schreiben den nahezu ausgelöschten deutschen Namen wieder zu erwecken“.

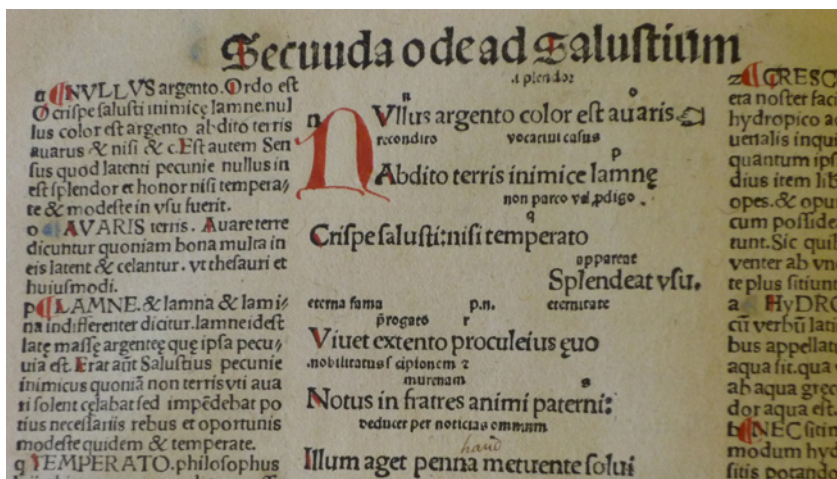


Abb. 1. Typisches Layout mit Interlinear- und Marginalglossen sowie *maniculae*, aus: *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Straßburg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. XXXII v.



Abb. 2. Holzschnitt zu Horaz, Ode II, 5, aus: *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Straßburg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. XXXIII v.

gesagt geschieht das vor allem durch zwei Selbststilisierungen: Locher erscheint als gekrönter Dichter und dadurch als wichtiger Repräsentant des jungen deutschen Humanismus.

Schon auf der Titelseite sehen wir einen gekrönten Dichter [Abb. 3]. Offenbar handelt es sich um den Kommentator Locher, da die abgebildete Figur in typisch professoraler Haltung an einer *cathedra* sitzt und damit beschäftigt ist, ein aufgeschlagenes Buch (die Werke des Horaz) zu erklären.⁴³ Sind somit schon auf der Titelseite die Funktionen Dichter und Erklärer sichtbar miteinander verschränkt,⁴⁴ so verstärkt sich dieser Eindruck beim Weiterblättern zur ersten Textseite des Drucks (fol. <2>r). Sie verweist in der Überschrift des ersten Paratextes, des *Epigramma*, mit den Wörtern „poeta laureatus“ erneut auf den Kommentator Jakob Locher. Auf der unteren Hälfte derselben Folioseite ist allerdings ein anderer gekrönter Dichter zu sehen [Abb. 4]: Ein Holzschnitt bildet Horaz ab, wie er vor dem Chor der Musen kniend von Kalliope den Dichterkranz gereicht bekommt.⁴⁵ Das folgende Gedicht ist eben diesem Augenblick gewidmet, indem es die Verse wiedergibt, die Kalliope während der Krönung spricht. Ganz offensichtlich sollen auf den ersten zwei Seiten der Ausgabe somit nicht nur die Funktionen von Dichter und Dichterklärer, sondern auch die Personen Horaz und Locher miteinander überblendet werden.⁴⁶ Dass Locher hierfür gerade das Symbol der Dichterkrönung wählt, ist sicher durch Celtis inspiriert, der sich nach seiner Dichterkrönung als deutscher Horaz stilisierte.⁴⁷

⁴³ Walther Ludwig hat mich während der Tagung der IANLS in Münster darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass derselbe Holzschnitt am Beginn jeden Odenbuches wiederverwendet wird und somit als Verfasserangabe auf den Kommentator Locher zurückverweist.

⁴⁴ Auch im Falle Landinos sind diese Funktionen kongruent. Der ehemals erfolgreiche (elegische) Dichter hatte, nicht zuletzt wegen seiner Poesie, einen Lehrstuhl am Florentiner Studio erworben. Diese Tätigkeit war eine wichtige Voraussetzung für seine drei großen gedruckten Kommentare zu Dante, Horaz und Vergil. Cardini R., *La critica del Landino* (Florenz: 1973) 15 beschreibt Landinos Entwicklung in aller Prägnanz: „[...] divenuto da poeta lettore di poeti“.

⁴⁵ Dieter Wuttke hat gezeigt, dass der Holzschnitt spätere deutsche Humanisten zur Imitation einlud; insbesondere bespricht er die Vorbildfunktion der *Kathedra Musarum* für die Apotheose des Herkules in der von ihm untersuchten *Histori Herculis*: Wuttke D., *Die Histori Herculis des Nürnberger Humanisten und Freund der Gebrüder Vischer, Pangratz Bernhaubt gen. Schwenter. Materialien zur Erforschung des deutschen Humanismus um 1500* (Köln – Graz: 1964) 140.

⁴⁶ Vgl. zur Überblendung von Locher und Horaz im Holzschnitt der Titelseite Coppel, „Jakob Locher Philomusus“ 160.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz* 5, der auf Kiesslings und Heinzes Kommentar zu Oden III, 30,15 f. verweist: „Der poeta laureatus ist eine Erfindung Horazens“. Vgl. Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Oden und Epoden*, verkl. von A. Kiessling. Achte Auflage besorgt von R. Heinze

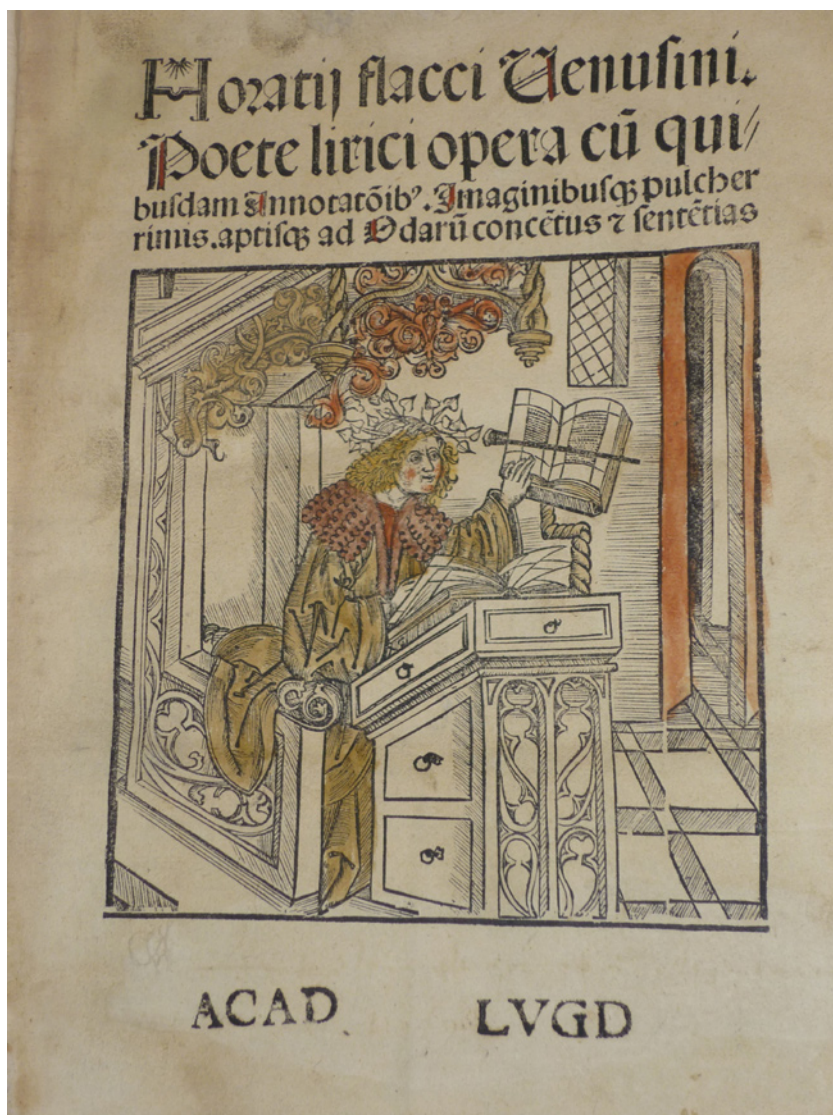


Abb. 3. Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...] (Straßburg, Johann Grüninger: 1498). Titelseite.



Abb. 4. Die Krönung des Horaz durch Kalliope, aus: *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Straßburg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. <2>r.

Doch die implizite Selbstaussage Lochers geht sogar noch weiter: Locher ist für den Rezipienten im Moment des Lesevorgangs bereits zum Dichter gekrönt (das Partizip Perfekt *laureatus* im Titel des *Epigramma*, dem Paratext 1, weist auf eine vom Betrachtungsmoment aus vergangene Handlung hin), während Horaz erst genau in diesem Moment gekrönt wird (der Titel des zugehörigen Gedichtes lautet *Loquitur Calliope Horatium coronans*, wobei das Partizip Präsens die Gleichzeitigkeit von Handlung und Betrachtungsmoment betont). Soll hiermit suggeriert werden, dass Horaz erst dadurch, dass er in der vorliegenden Edition durch einen *poeta laureatus* erklärt wird, ebenfalls den Dichterlorbeer erhält? Das würde gut zu dem bereits behandelten neunten Paratext passen, in dem Horaz selbst spricht und Locher dafür dankt, dass er ihn wieder zum Leben erweckt habe. Am

(Berlin: 1955) 385. Zwar ist für Horaz historisch keine Dichterkrönung bezeugt, aber die Verse aus dem programmatischen letzten Gedicht des dritten Odenbuches scheinen ihn zu einem *poeta laureatus* prädestiniert zu haben – zumindest in Deutschland. Dass Celis die Vermittlerrolle zukommt, machen die Kommentare von Landino und Mancinelli zu *carm.* III, 30,15 f. deutlich, die beide am Thema der Dichterkrönung nicht interessiert sind. Locher greift für die entsprechende Passage auf Pseud.-Acro zurück, der den Lorbeer, die „laurus delphica“, erklärt als „consacrata Apollini vel poetis“ – „dem Apollo bzw. den Dichtern geweiht“.

Ende dieses Gedichtes verspricht Horaz, dass Locher dank seiner Ausgabe den Musen stets lieb sein werde und sein Name als echter Philomusus für immer mit dem des Horaz verbunden bleibe:

Participem mecum famam nomenque tenebis,
Tu gratus Phoebæ Castaliisque deis.⁴⁸

Du wirst als mein Teilhaber Ruhm und Namen behalten, du wirst Apollo und den Musen angenehm sein.

Doch nicht nur mit Horaz sieht sich Locher auf einer Stufe,⁴⁹ auch Apollo ist sein persönlicher Vertrauter, mit dem er im achten Paratext ein Frage- und Antwortspiel über die Leistungen der lyrischen Poesie beginnen kann.⁵⁰ Ein derart intimes Verhältnis mit dem Gott der Poesie kann wohl nur ein wahrhaft großer Dichter, ein *vates*, für sich in Anspruch nehmen, und ein solcher ist wie kein zweiter auserwählt, um die Geheimnisse des größten lyrischen Dichters der Antike verständlich zu machen (selbst wenn Lochers Kommentar auch die anderen Werke des Horaz enthält, liegt der Nachdruck im paratextuellen Material und somit der Fokus des Kommentators ganz deutlich auf dem lyrischen Horaz).⁵¹ Es ist diese Haltung des *experto credite*, durch die Locher in besonderem Maße seine Autorität als Kommentator verstärken möchte.⁵²

⁴⁸ *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. <4>r, v. 17 f.

⁴⁹ Zu einer vergleichbaren Horazimitation in Celtis' *Oden* vgl. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz* 30–34; Auhagen U., „Konrad Celtis, ein neuer Horaz. Die zwei Fassungen der Ode 1,1“, in Auhagen – Lefèvre – Schäfer (Hrsg.), *Horaz und Celtis* 55–66, v.a. 65.

⁵⁰ Die Verhältnisse werden noch stringenter, wenn man bedenkt, dass Celtis in seiner *Ode an Apollo* den Gott der Poesie mit Horaz überblendet hatte, wie Frings, „Celtis' Ode an Apollo“ 147 gezeigt hat. Locher war das natürlich bewusst.

⁵¹ Cf. Kühlmann – Niehl, „Locher“ 64: „Einen besonderen Rang nimmt sie [die Horazausgabe, CP] auch deshalb ein, weil Horaz hier als Lyriker und Spiegelungsfigur des Herausgebers, nicht wie vorher als Satiriker und „Ethicus“ verstanden wurde“. Vgl. auch Coppel, „Jakob Locher Philomusus“ 159 f.

⁵² Die Selbststilisierung als Liebling der Dichtergottheiten ist im Horazkommentar nicht neu; schon drei Jahre zuvor, in seiner Universitätsrede *De studio humanarum disciplinarum et laude poetarum*, die Ende 1495 oder Anfang 1496 auch im Druck erschien (in Freiburg bei Friedrich Riederer, vgl. die Beschreibung des Drucks in Heidloff, *Untersuchungen* 27 f. und seine ausführliche Interpretation des Textes auf den Seiten 205–222), erwähnen die Musen Locher zu ihrem Zögling: „O verus integerque Heliconis alumnus, o verus Musarum cultor! [...] Ad te concessimus ut nostri delicatissimi liquoris te plenior faceremus“ – „O wahrer und unversehrter Zögling des Helicon, o wahrer Verehrer der Musen! [...] Dir haben wir zugestanden, eine größere Fülle unseres äußerst erhabenen Wassers zu erhalten“. (Ich zitiere den lateinischen Text nach Heidloff, *Untersuchungen* 207). Heidloff führt aus, dass Locher die Theorie des *furor poeticus* radikaler vertrat als seine deutschen Mithumanisten der Zeit, inklusive Konrad Celtis. Selbst noch früher, in seiner Auseinandersetzung mit Johannes Lupfdich an der Universität Tübingen im Jahr 1492, fin-

Andererseits dient die Stilisierung noch einem zweiten Ziel. Locher möchte sich seinen Lesern als bedeutender Vertreter der jungen deutschen humanistischen Bewegung präsentieren, vor allem als idealen Nachfolger seines Lehrers Konrad Celtis, dem er 1498 als Dozent an der Universität Ingolstadt nachfolgte.⁵³ Wie sehr er sich in dessen Nachfolge sah, zeigt exemplarisch ein Brief, den der Philomusus am 5. Dezember 1498 an Celtis schrieb. In ihm heißt es:

Tu pol primus Mercurius es, qui cantus rudia labella voce linguaue disertiori formasti et uti Apollineus quidam rapsodus buccas meas poetica harmonia inflasti, ut iuvenilem cervicem altius erigens posteritati longaevae nonnihil addam. Tu imprimis ex salutari pectore mihi Musarum progymnasmata aperuisti [...].⁵⁴

Wahrhaftig, du bist der erste Merkur, der meine Lippen, unkund des Sanges, durch deine eloquentere Stimme und Zunge geformt hast und wie ein apollinischer Sänger meine Wangen mit poetischer Harmonie aufgeblasen hast, sodass ich meinen jugendlichen Hals höher erheben kann und der Nachwelt bis in die ferne Zukunft etwas hinzufügen kann. Gerade du hast mir aus deiner heilsamen Brust die Vorübungen der Musen zugänglich gemacht [...].

Celtis wird in diesem Zitat tatsächlich zu einer inspirierenden Gottheit erhöht, unter deren Schutz Jakob Locher gesehen werden möchte. Nicht nur erhofft der Philomusus sich durch ihn persönliche Anerkennung unter den humanistischen Zeitgenossen in Deutschland. Zugleich macht er auch deutlich, dass er es als seine Aufgabe ansieht, Celtis' nationales Bildungsprogramm fortzusetzen.

Zum Abschluss sei neben Horaz, Apollo und Celtis eine weitere Person genannt, mit der Jakob Locher sich auf einer Stufe sehen lassen möchte. Es ist sein Gönner und der Widmungsträger der Horazausgabe, Markgraf Karl von Baden. Dem fünften Paratext, dem eigentlichen Widmungsbrief an diesen, geht ein Holzschnitt voraus [Abb. 5]. Entgegen der im

det sich ein Lochersches Gedicht der Muse an den Philomusus, in dem diese beteuert, dass er immer der Zögling und Favorit der Musen bleiben werde (v. 2: „Pieridum te turba fovet nympheque iuvabunt“, zit. nach Mertens, „Jakobus Locher Philomusus“ 30).

⁵³ Zur Rezeption der Apollo-Ode des Celtis vgl. Robert, *Konrad Celtis* 102 und sein Fazit: „So lebt das gedankliche Substrat der Apollo-Ode weiter als Spielmaterial einer durch den literarischen Kreis entworfenen Privatmythologie, die Celtis bereitwillig in der seit der *Ars versificandi* vielfach reklamierten Rolle des Kulturheros bestätigt“. Celtis wird etwa bei Augustinus Moravus als Musenpriester gerühmt, der den Reigen der Musen über die Alpen führt (ebd.), und bei Angelus Rumpfer wird er direkt mit Apoll überblendet (ebd. 103).

⁵⁴ Zitat nach Rupprich H. (Hrsg.), *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* (München: 1934) 346 f., hier 346; ebenfalls bei Heidloff, *Untersuchungen* 144.



Abb. 5. Markgraf Karl von Baden und Jakob Locher. Illustration zum Widmungsbrief, aus: *Horatii Flacci Venusini, poete lirici opera cum quibusdam annotationibus imaginibusque pulcherrimis aptisque [...]* (Straßburg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. <2>v.

Mittelalter üblichen Bildtradition zeigt er keinen knienden Bittsteller, der einer höhergestellten Person seinen Text demütig in die Hände legt und damit um günstigen Aufnahme bittet. Stattdessen sehen wir einen selbstbewussten Gelehrten, der sich gleichberechtigt mit dem Adligen unterhält – Locher steht wie der Markgraf und ist auch genauso groß wie dieser abgebildet.⁵⁵ Er übernimmt gleichsam die Rolle des Vertrauten und eines Fürstenerziehers, letzteres sogar ganz explizit, wenn er im Brief

⁵⁵ Vgl. Brown, *Poets* 99–151 (= Kap. 3: „The changing image of the poet“). Brown zeigt für Frankreich, dass sich im Laufe der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts die Abbildungen des Widmungsakts von einer Konzentration auf den Patron zu einer Konzentration auf den Schriftsteller (und manchmal zugleich auch auf den Drucker) verschieben. Die Autoren behaupteten dadurch ihre größere Eigenständigkeit („an increasingly independent status of authority“, 151), obwohl sie gleichzeitig noch stets die alten Patronageverhältnisse benötigten.

daran erinnert, dass der Markgraf sein langjähriger Schüler war.⁵⁶ Es zeigt sich in diesem Holzschnitt und in der selbstbewussten Haltung Lochers, des *poeta laureatus*, exemplarisch der ungeheure Drang, mit dem die erste deutsche Humanistengeneration ihre kulturpolitischen Ideen vorantrieb. Dabei sollte nicht nur Deutschland den Anschluss an die humanistische Bewegung Italiens finden. Ebenso bedeutsam war das neue Selbstbewusstsein der Intellektuellen, die als Wegbereiter der Bewegung keinen Grund sahen, warum sie ihre potentiellen Verdienste für Deutschland unter den Scheffel stellen sollten. Der Weg zu einer neuen Gesellschaft, in der die Dichter von den Fürsten als gleichberechtigt angesehen werden, muss jedoch über die Bildung gehen, wie der Beginn des Widmungsschreibens an den Markgrafen von Baden deutlich macht:

Ex omnibus rebus, quas humanum administrat ingenium, nullus fructus uberior nullaue emolumenta dulciora manant quam e iucundissimo optimarum artium studio, humanissime princeps, quod et animi salutem prestat, corporis ornamentum subministrat et vitae decorem ac honestatem suggerit.⁵⁷

Aus allen Dingen, die der menschliche Geist beherrscht, ist keine Frucht reicher und strömen keine Vorteile süßer als aus dem höchst erquicklichen Studium der besten Wissenschaften, gebildetster Fürst. Dieses Studium bringt Rettung für den Geist, verschafft körperliche Schmuck sowie Zierde und Ehrbarkeit des Lebens.

Fassen wir zusammen: Jakob Lochers Horazedition ist weit mehr als ein „trockener“ Kommentar zu einem klassischen Autor. Seine herausragende Eigenschaft ist vielmehr das große Interesse des Kommentators an der Visualisierung von bereits zugänglichen Informationen. Locher ist somit ein gutes Beispiel dafür, wie mit Hilfe des frühneuzeitlichen Klassikerkommentars ein neues *management of knowledge* entsteht, das die durch den Buchdruck stets schneller wachsende Informationsmenge

⁵⁶ *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. 3r: „Sed quia, iucundissime princeps, multos annos in studiis eloquentie me doctore usus fuisti meque ceteris professoribus in hac docendi provincia preposuisti, quamobrem te hortari ad studia poetica dulcissimosque Musarum secessus pietas me cogit“ – „Doch weil du, höchst angenehmer Fürst, dich über viele Jahre für das Studium der Rhetorik meines Unterrichts bedient hast und mich allen anderen Professoren in diesem Fach vorgezogen hast, darum drängt mich meine ergebene Treue, dich zum Studium der Poesie anzusporern und in die äußerst süße Abgeschiedenheit der Musen einzuladen“.

⁵⁷ *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. <2>v. Locher rezipiert damit ein Bildungsideal des italienischen Quattrocento, wie es sich etwa auch im Widmungsbrief der Horazedition Cristoforo Landinos an Guidobaldo da Montefeltro zeigt, vgl. dazu Pieper, „*Horatius praeceptor eloquentiae*“ 238 f.

strukturiert.⁵⁸ Andererseits vereint Locher dieses didaktische Interesse mit einem allgemeineren pädagogischen Impetus, der weit über den zu kommentierenden Text hinausgeht. Sein Ziel ist es, als Nachfolger des Konrad Celtis in Ingolstadt auch dessen humanistischen Geist weiterzugeben. Für die zukünftige Erforschung der Aufbruchphase des deutschen Frühhumanismus sollte daher die Straßburger Horazedition von 1498 eine größere Rolle spielen, als das bisher der Fall war.

⁵⁸ Vgl. für das Konzept des *management of knowledge* den Sammelband von Enenkel K.A.E. – Nellen H. (Hrsg.), *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400–1700)*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia XXXIII (Löwen: 2013).

APPENDIX: LOCHERS KOMMENTAR ZU HORAZ, *CARMEN* I, 14:⁵⁹

Text der Ode in Lochers Edition:

- 1 Navis referent in mare te novi
- 2 Fluctus, o quid agis? fortiter occupa
- 3/4 Portum; nonne vides ut nudum remigio latus
- 5 Et malus celeri saucius aphrico
- 6 Antemneque gemant ac sine funibus
- 7 Vix durare carinae
- 8 Possunt imperiosius
- 9 Aequer? non tibi sunt integra lintea
- 10 Non dii quos iterum pressa voces malo
- 11 Quamvis pontica pinus
- 12 Silve filia nobilis
- 13 Lactes et genus et nomen inutile.
- 14 Nil pictis timidis* navita puppibus
- 15 Fidit; tu nisi ventis
- 16 Debes ludibrium cave
- 17 Nuper sollicitum quæ mihi tedium
- 18 Nunc desiderium curaue non levis
- 19 Interfusa nitentes
- 20 Vites equora cycladas.

*offensichtlicher Druckfehler für *timidus*, s. interl. Glosse

Im Folgenden verwende ich folgende graphischen Markierungen:

kursiv = Landino

unterstrichen = Mancinelli

gesperrt = Porphyrio oder Pseud.-Acro (zitiert nach der Ausgabe *Horatius cum quattuor commentariis*, Venedig 1494)

fett = Lochers eigene Worte

Argumentum odes xiiii:

Navim alloquitur hortans illam ne iterum æstuosum mare ingrediatur, sed portum fortiter occupet, cum eius latus remigio careat malus et antemne ventis concussi fuerint funesque desint nec vela integra maneant nec dii sint quos iterum naufraga invocet. Et quamvis* nobilissima sit et picta, non propterea timidus nauta sibi confidet aut tempestatem evadere poterit. Itaque cavendum putat⁶⁰ ne ventis ludus fiat et inter cyclades scopulosaque freta incidat. Re vera tamen secundum Porphirionem⁶¹ videtur ut ad M. Brutum loquatur qui apud Philippos

⁵⁹ *Horatii Flacci Venusini*, fol. XIIIv–XIIIr.

⁶⁰ monet Mancinelli

⁶¹ Porphyronis autem sententia verior esse videtur Mancinelli

Macedoniae urbem⁶² contra Augustum et M. Antonium pugnans sinistrum cornu cui praeerat Cassius amiserat direptis etiam castris propter quod Cassius sibi ipsi mortem conscierat. Ipse tamen Brutus videbatur rursus instruere se ad pugnam.⁶³ Itaque merito poeta per allegoriam metuere pro eo se testatur qui et sub ipso militaverat.⁶⁴ Inde tamen ex prelio Philippico fatigatus receptus ab Augusto veniam meruit⁶⁵ auxilio Mecoenatis.

* *correx*i ex quumvis

Ode xiiii per allegoriam in inversionem⁶⁶ M. Brutum alloquitur

Marginalglossen:

1 O navis] **Ordo est:** *O navis novi fluctus referent te in mare; o Sexte; novi fluctus idest motus animi tui referent te ex portu in mare idest ex pace in bellum. Deinde veluti cernat illum iam mare ingressum bellum cepisse exclamat: o quid agis quasi dicit⁶⁷ non recte agis. Ergo occupa portum idest preveni ut ante portum capias quam sit qui repugnet aut prohibeat. Idem enim proprie occupare est; Virgilius 'Occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto'. Metaphoram autem sumpsit a navi ex cuius armamentis et milites et diversas voluit administrationes intelligi.⁶⁸*

3 Nonne vides] **Sensus est** *nonne vides quod latera navis careant remigibus. Significat illum exutum esse exercitu viribusque paternis. Et quod malus feriaturo vento denotat validum ostium impetum.*

4 Remigio] *idest remigibus; a remo enim dicuntur remiges quia navigia remis impellunt. Remigium autem et multitudinem remigum et actionem in remigando.*

4 Latus nudum] Hoc ait propter mortuum Cassium qui ut scribit Apianus erat antiquior Bruto atque expertior et austerus a natura; quapropter ex mandato ei parebant milites. Brutus vero facilis erat et clemens erga omnes; itaque non ita facile obsequebantur.

6 Antemne] *sic dicte quod ante malum sint ex transverso posite. Sed et urbs Italiae Antemne dicta quod ante amnem sit constituta.*

10 Non dii] *In hoc vult deos iratos intelligi quia denuo de bello civili cogitetur.⁶⁹*

10 Iterum] Nam pridie cladem habuerat Brutus Cassi sinistro cornu dissipato a M. Antonio. Dii tamen favisse ei visi sunt quoniam Augusti castra dissipaverat.

⁶² *Porphyrio*

⁶³ *Porphyrio*

⁶⁴ *Porphyrio*

⁶⁵ *Porphyrio*

⁶⁶ *Mancinelli übenimmt dieselben Worte noch einmal in sein argumentum (nach re vera tamen).*

⁶⁷ *quasi dicit quod Landino*

⁶⁸ *Pseud.-Acro*

⁶⁹ *Pseud.-Acro*

Postea vero nullam prebuere opem, nam clade affectus ut ostendimus cedem oravit. Plutarchus ait in vita Bruti deus et mutare et abducere cuncta que velit potens. Bruto fortunam hanc laetam abstulerit⁷⁰ de victoria in Augustum intelligens. Et⁷¹ Cassius Bruto dixerat: quam vellem o Brute hoc esse ut non solum armis equis navibus sed deorum suffragiis fideremus qui optimorum operum ac sanctissimorum duces sunt.

11 Pontica] *Mirum figmentum et tamen manet in translatione. Appellat igitur hanc pinum idest navem per intellectionem ponticam et nobilem ut alludat ad nobilitatem et gloriam Pompei patris quam reportavit ex triumpho Mythridatis regis Ponti. Cum tam potentem tam bellicosum ducem non solum in re militari sed in multis doctrinis excellentissimum regem Mythridatem qui⁷² ultra xii⁷³ annos adversus populum Romanum pugnavit, ut sepius⁷⁴ victoriam reportaverit, summa foelicitate nec minori celeritate superaverit et bello cui Hydrae capita esse viderentur extremum manum imposuerit.*

12 Silve filia nobilis] Marci enim Bruti progenitor fuerat Iunius Brutus qui Tarquinius everterat, mater vero Servilia Catonis Uticensis soror. Ipse vero⁷⁵ bonarum artium disciplina et philosophie studiis imbutus erat. Philosophos Graecos ferme omnes attigerat nec ullius ipsorum disciplinae vel expers vel ignarus fuit. Auctor est Plutarchus.

14 Nil pictis] Sensus est quod nihil in bello prosunt ornamenta nobilitatis⁷⁶ sed arma et exercitus.

14 Puppibus] *Puppis est ultima pars navis et sublimior, prora autem prima pars navigii. Transtra appellant nautarum sedilia. Virgilius 'Transtra per et remos'.⁷⁷*

15 Tu nisi] Ordo est: Tu cave nisi debes ludibrium ventis,⁷⁸ idest nisi velis ventis esse ludus, quod fit cum huc illuc navis trahitur a tempestate.

17 Nuper sollicitum] *ecce hic manifeste ostendit se poeta partium Bruti fuisse quarum affectione sese teneri ostendit propter istius Bruti miserationem.⁷⁹*

19 Interfusa nitentes] *Absolute locutus est ac si diceret: vites equora fusa inter nitentes Cycladas.⁸⁰*

20 Cycladas] Insulas sic dictas in mari Egeo, auctor est Strabo libro x. Allegorice autem ponit illas pro Augusti ducibus qui sibi adversi sunt qui illi bellum asperum reddunt ut crebris insulis interiectum mare magis aestuet.

⁷⁰ abstulit Mancinelli

⁷¹ paulo superius add. Mancinelli

⁷² ita add. Landino

⁷³ xxii Landino

⁷⁴ sepiissime Landino

⁷⁵ vero om. Mancinelli

⁷⁶ Porphyrio

⁷⁷ Kombination aus drei Zitaten; Landino arbeitet alle drei Definitionen jeweils länger aus.

⁷⁸ Pseud.-Acro

⁷⁹ Porphyrio

⁸⁰ Pseud.-Acro

Interlinearglossen:

- 1 mare] prelium et cladem
 2 fluctus] bellorum civilium impetus
 2 o] **tu Brute**
 2 occupa] retine ac posside
 3 portum] pacem⁸¹
 3/4 ut nudum] **qualiter carens**
 5 celeri] sevo
 5 saucius] **lesus**
 5 Aphrico] **pro prelio hic, alias pro vento**
 6 antemneque] vexille
 6 gemant] *ex angustiis emittunt sonum*⁸²
 6 funibus] hoc est pecunia et impensis⁸³
 7 durare] tolerare
 7 carinę] acies et turme
 8 imperiosius] violentum⁸⁴
 9 aequor] acre prelium
 9 integra] agmina
 9 lintea] vexilla⁸⁵
 10 dii] *favor divinus*
 11 quamvis] **sis**
 11 pontica pinus] hec ad nobilitatem Bruti referuntur⁸⁶
 12 silve] **progeniei**
 13 iactes] *glorieris*
 13 genus] **nobilitatem generis**
 13 inutile] **nam Bruti nomen erit tibi ad ignominiam**
 14 timidus] perpetuum epitheton nautarum
 14 puppibus] *navibus*
 15 fudit] **con[-fidit]**
 16 ludibrium] res digna ludo et contemptu
 16 cave] caveas⁸⁷
 17 nuper] paulo ante cum fui tribunus
 17 sollicitum] **propter anxietatem**
 17 mihi] **scil. eras**
 19 nitentes] longe apparentes⁸⁸
 20 vites] **debes vitare**

⁸¹ *Pseud.-Acro*⁸² ut dicimus est cum ex angustiis emittitur sonum *Landino*⁸³ *Pseud.-Acro*⁸⁴ *Pseud.-Acro*⁸⁵ integra lintea: integra agmina et vexilla *Mancinelli*; *Locher fasst die Erklärung offenbar falsch auf*⁸⁶ *Porphyrio*⁸⁷ *Pseud.-Acro*⁸⁸ *Pseud.-Acro*

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PETRUS NANNIUS ALS PHILOLOGE UND LITERATURKRITIKER IM
LICHTE SEINES KOMMENTARS ZUR *ARS POETICA* DES HORAZ

Marc Laureys

ENGLISH SUMMARY

As Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) in a famous autobiographical letter looked back upon his predecessors in the chair for Latin philology at the Collegium Trilingue in Leuven, he singled out the third professor who held that chair, Petrus Nannius (1496–1557), for special praise. Nannius indeed made his mark on the humanistic scene at Leuven during the 16th century and played an important part in the rise to international fame of the Collegium Trilingue. Almost all of his writings that have come down to us relate in some way or another to his teaching practice in Leuven, most obviously his commentaries on classical authors.

This article deals with Nannius's commentary on Horace's *Ars poetica*, which was published posthumously in 1608 as part of the commentary on Horace composed by Laevinus Torrentius (1525–1595). Torrentius had not been able to include the *Ars* in his commentary, so the editors decided to add Nannius's annotations, preserved in a manuscript at the Collegium Trilingue, to cover Horace's œuvre in its entirety. Nannius read Horace's *Ars* at least twice during his teaching career; it may be assumed that the annotations reflect his teaching fairly faithfully.

The scope and purpose of his commentary make clear that Nannius did not particularly focus on key questions of poetic theory, as opposed to many other commentators of the *Ars* during the Renaissance. Rather, Nannius's interpretation of the *Ars* needs to be evaluated in the context of his global teaching program, aimed at providing students with general as well as specialized knowledge about classical literature and culture. Three characteristics emerge from the annotations as they have been transmitted to us: First, Nannius takes a keen interest in the Greek background of the *Ars* (from lexicological peculiarities to the complex issue of Aristotle's influence on Horace's *Ars*). Second, in his explication of the *Ars*, he conveys his understanding, shared by nearly all interpreters in the Renaissance, of the *Ars* as a treatise of normative poetics, but at the same time includes in his commentary much encyclopaedic information about various facets of classical civilization. Third, Nannius's commentary benefits from the philological pursuits that were particularly dear to him: in the context of his study of the Acronian scholia, he was the first to use the so-called Blandinian manuscripts – well before Jacobus Cruquius made this textual evidence the cornerstone of his philological work on Horace – and the verses 133–134 give him the opportunity to elaborate on his ideas about translating Greek texts into Latin. In this way he links, on a general level, his exegesis of Horace with one of his main overall scholarly concerns, namely, the connections between the Greek and Latin traditions of

literature and learning. From this perspective especially, Nannius places himself firmly in the Erasmian tradition, very vividly present among the first Latin professors of the Collegium Trilingue.

Einleitung

Wie stark die Erinnerung an Petrus Nannius um 1600 zumindest im Löwener Kontext noch lebte, wird durch die Hochachtung klar, die Justus Lipsius ihm entgegenbrachte: Von allen seinen Vorgängern auf dem Lehrstuhl für Latinistik am Löwener Collegium Trilingue hielt Lipsius Nannius für den bedeutendsten.¹ Demgegenüber ist Lipsius' geringere Bewertung seines eigenen Lehrers, Cornelius Valerius, bemerkenswert, nicht zuletzt weil er sie in seinem berühmten autobiographischen Brief (ILE XIII, 00 10 01) kundtut.² Die Anfänge der drei für das Collegium Trilingue vorgesehenen Lehrstühle – für Latein, Griechisch und Hebräisch – waren insgesamt eher bescheiden, aber während die Lehre im Bereich des Hebräischen niemals über die Elementarstufe hinauskam, hoben sich die Gräzistik und insbesondere die Latinistik langsam auf ein ansehnliches Niveau. Der erste Lehrstuhlinhaber für Latein, Adrianus Barlandus,³ war 1518–1519 nur einige Monate im Dienst und blieb ganz im Schatten des großen Inspirators des Dreisprachenkollegs, Erasmus; Barlandus verfügte übrigens über nur rudimentäre Griechischkenntnisse. Sein Nachfolger, Konrad Goclenius,⁴ der 20 Jahre als Lateinprofessor tätig war, hatte aber schon eine bedeutend größere Ausstrahlung und glich eine eher geringe literarische Produktion

¹ Lipsius' entsprechende Aussagen werden zitiert von u.a. Polet A., *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge. Petrus Nannius 1500–1557*, Humanistica Lovaniensia 5 (1936) 15, mit Anm. 1 und 3, und Sacré D., „Nannius's *Somnia*“, in De Smet R. (Hrsg.), *La satire humaniste. Actes du Colloque international des 31 mars, 1er et 2 avril 1993* (Löwen: 1994) 77–93, hier 77. Polets Monographie ist nach wie vor die bedeutendste Arbeit über Petrus Nannius; Sacré („Nannius's *Somnia*“ 77, Anm. 5) weist aber darauf hin, dass Nannius' Geburtsjahr von Henry de Vocht überzeugend auf 1496 korrigiert worden ist; siehe dessen *History of the foundation and the rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550*, Bd. 4, Humanistica Lovaniensia 13 (Löwen: 1955) 460.

² Papy J. (Hrsg.), *Iusti Lipsi epistolae*, Pars XIII: 1600 (Brüssel: 2000) 252: „Nam is [i.e. Cornelius Valerius] Petro Nannio, qui primus honestum ibi ignem accenderat, successor datus, studio non impar, ingenio inferior“. Henry de Vocht hat versucht, diese Abqualifizierung zu mildern, indem er das ‚non‘ auch auf ‚ingenio inferior‘ verstanden wissen wollte; siehe *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense* (Anm. 1), Bd. 3, Humanistica Lovaniensia 12 (Löwen: 1954) 277, Anm. 2. Eine solche Interpretation des Satzes kann aber kaum überzeugen.

³ Siehe Daxhelet É., *Adrien Barlandus, humaniste belge, 1486–1538. Sa vie – son œuvre – sa personnalité*, Humanistica Lovaniensia 6 (Löwen: 1938).

⁴ Siehe De Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense* (Anm. 1), Bd. 2 und 3, passim.

durch eine höchst erfolgreiche Lehre, die eine große Hörerschaft anzog, aus. Als Nannius nach dem Tode von Goclenius 1539 den Latein-Lehrstuhl übernahm, war daher für die Latinistik im Collegium Trilingue eine solide Basis geschaffen.

Viele Lehrstuhlinhaber des Löwener Dreisprachenkollegs, das im 16. Jahrhundert seine Glanzzeit kannte, sind bis in die neuere Forschung ganz unterschiedlich beurteilt worden; allerdings ist für einige dieser Philologen der Forschungsstand nicht wesentlich über die grundlegenden Arbeiten des Henry de Vocht und seines Schülerkreises hinausgegangen. Eine neue Auswertung der philologischen Tradition des Collegium Trilingue – insbesondere im gesamteuropäischen Kontext der humanistischen Philologie – wäre daher eine lohnenswerte Forschungsaufgabe. Dabei wäre nicht nur der konkrete Einfluss von Erasmus, sondern auch die Bedeutung und Wirkung des spanischen Exilhumanisten Juan Luis Vives, der mehrere Jahre zusammen mit Erasmus in Löwen verbracht hat, neu zu überprüfen.

Die Hochschätzung, die Lipsius Nannius entgegenbrachte, kann man auf jeden Fall auch noch aus heutiger Sicht gut nachvollziehen. Im Vergleich sowohl zu seinem Vorgänger Konrad Goclenius als auch zu seinem Nachfolger Cornelius Valerius ragt Nannius nicht nur als ein breit interessierter Philologe heraus, der Editionen, Kommentare und Übersetzungen von griechischen Autoren angefertigt hat, sondern auch als ein kreativer lateinischer Autor, der u.a. eine Komödie in der Nachfolge von Plautus und Terenz, eine Sammlung von Heroinnenbriefen, einige Deklamationen sowie zwei geistreiche *Somnia*, jeweils eine Vorrede in der Form einer Traumgeschichte für eine Lehrveranstaltung, verfasst hat.⁵ Die *Somnia* zeigen übrigens, wie kunstvoll Nannius seine literarische Kreativität mit seiner Lehrtätigkeit zu verknüpfen wusste.⁶

Nannius' Klassikerkommentare hingegen bilden jenen Teil seines Schrifttums, in dem sich seine Forschung und Lehre am deutlichsten miteinander verbinden.⁷ Nannius' Vorlesungen wurden von mehreren Studenten besucht, die später auch selbst bedeutende und anerkannte Philologen wurden, darunter Stephanus Pighius, Antoine Morillon,

⁵ Einen Überblick über Nannius' gesamtes Œuvre verschafft Polet, *Petrus Nannius* (Anm. 1).

⁶ Für eine eingehende literarische Analyse siehe Sacré, „Nannius's *Somnia*“ (Anm. 1).

⁷ Über die philologische Tradition der Kommentierung und ihre literarischen Ausprägungen siehe zuletzt den Überblicksartikel „Commentary“ von Anthony Grafton in Grafton A. – Most G.W. – Settis S. (Hrsg.), *The Classical tradition* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2010) 225–233 (mit einem Verzeichnis der wesentlichen Forschungsliteratur).

Marcus Laurinus, Augerius Busbequius, Jacobus Cruquius sowie der Spanier Sebastian Fox Morcillo⁸ und der Portugiese Aquiles Estaço (Achilles Statius);⁹ in deren Schriften finden sich aber keinerlei genauere Angaben oder Bemerkungen zu Nannius' Lehrveranstaltungen. So sind wir im Wesentlichen auf Nannius' Kommentare angewiesen, um uns ein Bild von seiner Unterrichtspraxis zu verschaffen.¹⁰ Leider ist nur eine relativ geringe Anzahl dieser Kommentare in gedruckter Form erhalten: Zu seinen Lebzeiten erschienen Anmerkungen und Erläuterungen zu einzelnen Texten aus dem Œuvre Vergils,¹¹ Livius¹² und Ciceros.¹³ Postum gedruckt wurden *In P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica commentaria* (Basel, Ioannes Oporinus: 1559) und *In Q. Horatii Flacci Artem Poeticam commentarius* (publiziert im Horaz-Kommentar des Laevinus Torrentius [Antwerpen, Ioannes Moretus: 1608]). Diesen postumen Ausgaben wurde jeweils eine noch im Collegium Trilingue vorhandene Handschrift zugrunde gelegt, die allerdings in beiden Fällen verschollen ist, so dass wir für den Wortlaut dieser Kommentare von den gedruckten Ausgaben bzw. ihren Herausgebern abhängig sind.

Den Kommentar zur *Ars Poetica* edierte der spätere Löwener Professor Valerius Andreas 1608, als er Andreas Schottus bei dessen Editionstätigkeit für die *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerpen unterstützte.¹⁴ In einem kurzen Vorwort teilte Valerius Andreas über seine Rolle als Editor lediglich mit, dass er Nannius' Glossen („scholae“) „descripsit“, „in ordinem digessit“ und

⁸ Nannius ist ein Gesprächspartner in Fox Morcillos *De historiae institutione dialogus* (Antwerpen, Christoph Plantin: 1557).

⁹ Ein *Encomium Petri Nannii* findet sich in Statius' *Sylvae aliquot* (Paris, Richardus: 1549). Der Text ist ediert von IJsewijn J., „Petrus Nannius and Achilles Statius“, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 43 (1994) 288–294, hier 290–292.

¹⁰ Eine allgemeine Würdigung von Nannius' Lehrtätigkeit bietet Polet, *Petrus Nannius* (Anm. 1) 11–17.

¹¹ *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia Petri Nannii Alcmariani in quartum librum Aeneidos Virgilii* (Löwen, Rutgerus Rescius: 1544).

¹² *Castigationes in Titi Livii librum tertium decadis primae* (Löwen, Servatius Sassenus: 1545).

¹³ *Marci Tulli Ciceronis Accusationis in C. Verrem liber V. Oratio VIII, cui addita sunt scholia et castigationes Petri Nannii Alcmariani, in Collegio Buslidiano Latini professoris, in quartum simul et quintum actionum Verrinarum* (Löwen, Servatius Sassenus: 1546).

¹⁴ Auch sein allererstes Werk hatte Valerius Andreas in Antwerpen unter der Leitung von Andreas Schottus zusammengestellt: *Catalogus clarorum Hispaniae scriptorum, qui Latine disciplinas omnes humanitatis, iurisprudentiae, philosophiae, medicinae ac theologiae illustrando etiam trans Pyrenaeos evulgati sunt* (Mainz, Balthasar Lippius: 1607). Valerius Andreas kannte noch mehrere ungedruckte Schriften des Nannius, die nachher verloren gegangen sind; siehe das bibliographische Verzeichnis im Nannius-Artikel seiner *Bibliotheca Belgica. De Belgis vita scriptisque claris, praemissa topographica Belgii totius seu Germaniae inferioris descriptione*, editio renovata (Löwen, Jacobus Zegers: 1643) 749–751.

„recensuit“, d.h. „abgeschrieben, in die richtige Reihenfolge gebracht und kritisch durchgesehen hat“.¹⁵ Da Valerius Andreas zu diesem Zeitpunkt erst 20 Jahre alt war, diese Edition in einer subalternen Funktion besorgte und mit dieser Teilveröffentlichung von Nannius' philologischem Nachlass dem früheren Latinisten Tribut zollen wollte, kann man zumindest vermuten, dass die gedruckte Fassung eine relativ treue Wiedergabe der handschriftlichen Vorlage ist.

Über Horazens *Ars Poetica* las Nannius mindestens zweimal: 1539 wählte er diese Schrift als Thema seiner Vorlesung und widmete ihr seine erste (leider nicht erhaltene) *praelectio*; nach der Veröffentlichung seiner philologischen *ΣΥΜΜΙΚΤΩΝ sive miscellaneorum decas una* (Löwen, Servatius Sassenus: 1548) muss er die *Ars Poetica* ein weiteres Mal behandelt haben, weil sein Kommentar Verweise auf die Horaz gewidmete Sektion der *Miscellanea* enthält.¹⁶ In dieser Zeit konnte Nannius schon auf eine reichhaltige Kommentartadition zurückblicken, in der die *Ars Poetica* überwiegend als normative bzw. präskriptive Darstellung der Poetik gedeutet worden war und gelegentlich als Aufhänger für poetologische Reflexionen über z.B. Ursprung und Wesen der Dichtung, den Begriff der Fiktion, die Problematik der Imitatio oder die Frage des moralischen Wertes von Dichtung gedient hatte.¹⁷ Bis in die 1530er Jahre traten bei der Kommentierung der *Ars Poetica* besonders die italienischen Humanisten hervor; fast der einzige nordeuropäische Gelehrte, der im frühen 16. Jahrhundert einen gewichtigen und breit rezipierten Kommentar zur *Ars* schuf, war Josse Bade.¹⁸

In Nannius' Kommentar ist aber kein spezifisches Interesse für Poetik spürbar. Die Kommentierung der *Ars* ist für Nannius Teil eines größeren

¹⁵ *Quintus Horatius Flaccus, cum erudito Laevini Torrentii commentario, nunc primum in lucem edito. Item Petri Nannii Alcmariani in Artem Poeticam* (Antwerpen, Ioannes Moretus: 1608), 768: „Describendi itaque laborem taedii sane plenum absorpsi in ordinemque τὰ σποράδια digessi ac recensui“.

¹⁶ Siehe auch Polet, *Petrus Nannius* (Anm. 1) 179, Anm. 3.

¹⁷ Der m.E. beste Gesamtüberblick über die Kommentartadition zur horazischen *Ars poetica* in der Frühen Neuzeit findet sich bei Nugel B., *A New English Horace. Die Übersetzungen der horazischen Ars Poetica in der Restaurationszeit* (Frankfurt am Main: 1971) 15–48. Siehe daneben insb. Moss A., „Horace in the sixteenth century: commentators into critics“, in Norton G.P. (Hrsg.), *The Cambridge history of literary criticism*, vol. III. *The Renaissance* (Cambridge: 1999) 66–76.

¹⁸ Die vielen Fassungen und ihre mehrfachen Auflagen werden im Detail beschrieben von Renouard Ph., *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius imprimeur et humaniste 1462–1535*, Bd. 2 (Paris: 1908) 496–517. Für eine knappe Charakterisierung siehe Friis Jensen K., „Commentaries on Horace's Art of Poetry in the incunabile period“, *Renaissance studies* 9 (1995) 228–239, hier 237–239.

Lehrprogramms, in dem nicht nur Erkenntnisse über Horaz und seine Poetik präsentiert werden, sondern auch viel Allgemeinwissen über die antike Literatur und Kultur vermittelt wird. Daher gehören Nannius' Glossen zur *Ars Poetica* nicht zum *mainstream* der Kommentierung dieser Schrift und wurden auch nach deren Veröffentlichung relativ wenig wahrgenommen.¹⁹ In dieser Hinsicht sind Nannius' Erläuterungen mit jenen anderer auch großer Philologen vergleichbar, wie etwa Polizianos, dessen Bemerkungen zur *Ars* weitgehend in seinen *Miscellanea* zu finden sind. Vielleicht ist Nannius in seiner Antrittsvorlesung genuin poetologischen Fragen in Bezug auf Horazens *Ars Poetica* nachgegangen; in seinem Kommentar ist davon aber keine Spur erkennbar.

Stattdessen gibt Nannius' Kommentar zur *Ars Poetica* ein gutes Bild von den philologischen und historischen Interessen sowie der Kommentierungspraxis dieses Löwener Professors. Die besonderen Merkmale von Nannius' Erläuterung der *Ars* können – wie mir scheint – unter drei Gesichtspunkten erfasst werden.

1. *Besondere Aufmerksamkeit für die griechische Tradition*

Insgesamt profilierte sich Nannius viel stärker noch als sein Vorgänger Goclenius sowohl in der Latinistik als auch in der Gräzistik durch eine rege Übersetzertätigkeit. Dementsprechend zeigt Nannius auch ein auffälliges Interesse für den griechischen Hintergrund der *Ars Poetica*. So weist er gerne auf Gräzismen im lateinischen Wortlaut der *Ars* hin, wie etwa den reflexiven Gebrauch in „purgor bitem“ (ad 302)²⁰ oder die Verwendung von *docere* im Sinne von „aufführen“, wie griechisch διδάσκειν (ad 288).²¹ Ebenso hebt er den Neologismus „iuvenari“ (ad 246),²² mit dem Horaz das griechische Verb „ναγιεύεσθαι“ wiedergeben will, hervor.

¹⁹ Immerhin sind sie großteils integriert in eine 1825 in London gedruckte Fassung der von Louis Desprez besorgten Horaz-Edition *ad usum delphini*, die in späteren Auflagen aus mehreren Quellen angereichert wurde: *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera omnia ex editione J. C. Zeunii, cum notis et interpretatione in usum delphini, variis lectionibus, notis variorum, recensu editionum et codicum et indice locupletissimo accurate recensita*, 4 Bde. (London: 1825).

²⁰ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 822: „Atticismus est, quem Latini nisi in verbis vehementissimae translationis usurpant“.

²¹ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 820, wo er hinzufügt „Horatius libenter graecizat“.

²² *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 815.

Die wichtigste Frage in dieser Hinsicht war natürlich der Einfluss der griechischen und insbesondere der aristotelischen Poetik auf Horazens *Ars Poetica*. Schon der antike Scholiast Porphyrio hatte in einer einleitenden Bemerkung mitgeteilt, dass Horaz in seiner Schrift die bedeutendsten Vorschriften („praecepta“) des Neoptolemos von Parion über die Dichtkunst zusammengetragen habe,²³ aber dieser hellenistischer Kritiker blieb für alle frühneuzeitlichen Kommentatoren lediglich ein Name. Nachdem Aristoteles' Poetik zum zweiten Mal in der Frühen Neuzeit ins Lateinische übersetzt worden war, und zwar diesmal von Alessandro Pazzi (veröffentlicht zuerst 1536) – die von Hermannus Alemannus angefertigte lateinische Fassung (1256) der griechischen Version von Averroes' Paraphrase der Poetik (ca. 1175), die von Wilhelm von Moerbeke 1278 erstellte lateinische Übersetzung des Traktats und die neue Übersetzung von Giorgio Valla (1498) blieben alle ohne nennenswerte Wirkung –, wurde Horazens *Ars Poetica* von vielen Interpreten in einen engen Bezug zur aristotelischen Poetik gesetzt, und es entstand langsam die Auffassung, in radikaler Form z.B. bei Vincenzo Maggi (1550),²⁴ Horaz habe lediglich Aristoteles' poetologische Konzepte nachgeahmt. Zuvor wurde Aristoteles gelegentlich als Quellenautor genannt, so schon vom ersten humanistischen Kommentator, Cristoforo Landino,²⁵ und wurde auf bestimmte Entsprechungen hingewiesen, ohne dass aber eine mögliche Abhängigkeit des Horaz von Aristoteles systematisch eruiert wurde.

In Nannius' Kommentar finden sich mehrere Verweise auf die Poetik des Aristoteles, ebenso übrigens auf dessen Rhetorik, wobei manchmal auch der griechische Text zitiert wird, und zwar auch zu Stellen der *Ars*, wo die früheren Kommentatoren kaum oder gar nicht auf Aristoteles verwiesen. Nannius zeigt sich somit mit der in seiner Zeit noch relativ neuen Tendenz, für die horazische *Ars* einen aristotelischen Hintergrund zu dokumentieren, vertraut. Zum ersten Mal wird dieses Bemühen in der kommentierenden Paraphrase des Francesco Filippo Pedemonte sichtbar;²⁶

²³ Siehe Holder A. (Hrsg.), *Pomponi Porphyrii commentum in Horatium Flaccum* (Innsbruck: 1894) 162.

²⁴ Maggi erarbeitete seinen Poetik-Kommentar zunächst zusammen mit Bartolomeo Lombardi und führte ihn nach dessen Tod 1541 oder 1542 alleine weiter. Dementsprechend lautet der Titel: *Vincentii Madii Brixiani et Bartholomaei Lombardi Veronensis in Aristotelis librum de Poetica communes explanationes, Madii vero in eundem librum propriae annotationes. Eiusdem de Ridiculis, et in Horatii librum de arte Poetica interpretatio* (Venedig, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1550).

²⁵ Siehe seine einleitenden Bemerkungen zur *Ars* in seinem Horaz-Kommentar, z.B. in der Edition erschienen in Venedig, Reynaldus de Nimwegen: 1483, fol. C vi v.

²⁶ *Ecphrasis in Horatii Flacci Artem Poeticam* (Venedig, apud Aldi filios: 1546).

von prägender Bedeutung ist in dieser Hinsicht aber insbesondere die zwei Jahre später veröffentlichte *Ars*-Paraphrase des Francesco Robortello.²⁷ Während Nannius zwar sicherlich unmittelbar – und nicht lediglich über die frühere Kommentartradition – mit beiden aristotelischen Traktaten vertraut war, ist er dennoch von einem soliden Verständnis der Grundfragen der aristotelischen Poetik weit entfernt. Nannius' Verweise beziehen sich häufig auf Detailinformationen, so z.B. die Rolle des Chors im antiken Drama (ad 193),²⁸ oder geben Aristoteles' Ansichten nur in allgemeiner Form wieder, wie etwa „ars poetica aliud nihil est quam imitatio teste Aristotele“ (ad 318), wonach Nannius den aristotelischen Vergleich zwischen Dichter und Maler referiert.²⁹ Zuweilen zitiert Nannius Aristoteles

²⁷ *Paraphrasis in librum Horatii qui vulgo de Arte Poetica ad Pisones inscribitur*, angehängt an seine *In librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetica explicationes* (Florenz, Laurentius Torrentinus: 1548). Die *Paraphrasis* wurde noch angereichert mit *Explicationes de satyra, de epigrammate, de comoedia, de salibus, de elegia*. In einem weiteren (meistens nicht mehr mitzitierten) Titelzusatz zu dieser ausführlichen Beigabe zum Poetik-Kommentar formulierte Robortello in programmatischem Sinne das Kernprinzip seiner Doppelkommentierung von Aristoteles und Horaz: *Quae omnia addita ab autore fuerunt, ut nihil quod ad poeticam spectaret desiderari posset. Nam in iis scribendis Aristotelis methodum servavit et ex ipsius Libello de arte Poetica principia sumpsit omnium suarum explicationum*. Robortello wollte, mit anderen Worten, die gesamte antike Poetik erfassen, indem er jene Aspekte, die in der seiner Auffassung nach wesentlichen Quelle, Aristoteles' Poetik, fehlten, unter Heranziehung der (vor ihm generell als Leitquelle angesehenen) *Ars* des Horaz sowie einiger weiteren grammatischen und rhetorischen Schriften erläuterte. Im weiteren Verlauf des 16. Jahrhunderts kam es dann zu einer immer stärkeren Wechselwirkung zwischen den beiden (horazischen und aristotelischen) Kommentarlinsen. Da nun aber alle Horaz-Kommentatoren (seit der Spätantike bis in die Frühe Neuzeit) die *Ars* in normativer bzw. präskriptiver Art vor dem Hintergrund der Regeln der klassischen Rhetorik lasen, färbte diese rhetorische Annäherung an den Text auch nicht selten auf das Verständnis der aristotelischen Poetik ab.

²⁸ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 809–810. Nannius zitiert hier Aristoteles, *Poetica* 1456a25–26, wie auch Pedemonte ([Anm. 26], fol. 33 v) und Robortello ([Anm. 27], S. 11 der *Paraphrasis*). Ob Nannius die *Ecphrasis* des Pedemonte gekannt hat, ist höchst unsicher; nach dem derzeitigen Kenntnisstand ist die *Ecphrasis* im 16. Jahrhundert kaum rezipiert worden. Den Poetik-Kommentar und die *Ars*-Paraphrase Robortellos kannte Nannius hingegen sehr wahrscheinlich. Robortello beschäftigte Nannius auf jeden Fall in anderer Hinsicht: In Buch 8 seiner philologischen *Miscellanea* (*ΣΥΜΜΙΚΤΩΝ sive Miscellaneorum decas una* [Löwen, Servatius Sassenus: 1548], S. 214–269) setzte sich Nannius mit der Kritik Robortellos an Erasmus' Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen auseinander. Interessanterweise fehlt dennoch nicht nur Pedemonte, sondern auch Robortello in der Liste der *Q. Horatii Flacci poematum interpretes*, die am Ende von Torrentius' Horaz-Edition ([Anm. 15], nicht mehr paginiert) erscheint.

²⁹ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 824, wobei Nannius Aristoteles, *Poetica* 1454b11–14 auf Griechisch zitiert. Vgl. auch ad 112 (ibidem 795): „Nam cum sit ars poetica imitatrix naturae, nisi observet decorum et a similitudine rerum non discedat, parvi fit eritque tamquam pictura nullius momenti, absona et incongrua, quae non servat in omnibus convenientem proportionem“. Hier scheint Nannius über das horazische ‚decorum‘ auch auf das aristotelische ἀρμόδιον (Arist., *Poet.*, 1454a22–24) anzuspähen.

unvollständig, z.B. wenn er behauptet, Aristoteles spreche sich gänzlich gegen einen „*deus ex machina*“ aus (ad 191), während Aristoteles in Wirklichkeit diesen Notbehelf in bestimmten Fällen gestattet.³⁰ Zu einer gedanklichen Durchdringung der aristotelischen Poetik gelangt Nannius keineswegs. Seine Hinweise auf griechische Hintergründe in Horazens *Ars Poetica* gehen über punktuelle Erkenntnisse, die in einzelnen Lemmata erörtert werden, nicht hinaus.

2. Pragmatisch/präskriptive und enzyklopädische Perspektive in der Kommentierung

Schon Quintilian suggerierte mit seiner Bezeichnung *ars poetica* (*Institutio oratoria* VIII, 3,60), dass Horaz in seiner Epistel an die Pisonen Gesetze der Poetik zu vermitteln beabsichtige, und die antiken Scholiasten, Pseudo-Acro und Porphyrio, gingen davon aus, dass Horaz sich in dieser Schrift als Lehrer der Poetik gebärdet und „*praecepta*“ der Dichtkunst darbietet. Auch die ganze mittelalterliche und frühhumanistische Kommentartradition blieb bei dieser normativen, auf die dichterische Praxis hin orientierten Lesart der *Ars Poetica*. So wurde bis zur näheren Einbeziehung der aristotelischen Poetik Horazens Schrift vorwiegend im Lichte der grammatischen und rhetorischen Theorie interpretiert und waren die wichtigsten antiken Gewährsleute Cicero und Quintilian sowie Diomedes, Charisius und Nonius Marcellus.

Auch Nannius hält sich an diese Linie, wie er gleich in seiner ersten Anmerkung deutlich macht.³¹ Demnach verweist er z.B. für das Konzept der „*brevitas*“ (ad 25)³² und die Affektenlehre (ad 101–102)³³ auf die entsprechenden Äußerungen Ciceros und Quintilians. Für das Gebot einer angemessenen Darstellung der Lebensalter (ad 156)³⁴ werden die entsprechenden *topoi* der epideiktischen Redekunst zum Maßstab genommen.

³⁰ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 809. Nannius zitiert Aristoteles, *Poetica* 1454a37–1454b2, lässt aber die Möglichkeit, die Aristoteles für einen *deus ex machina* außerhalb der eigentlichen Handlung offen lässt (Aristoteles, *Poetica*, 1454b2–8), außer Acht. Ebenso unvollständig ist Robortellos entsprechende Erläuterung in seiner *Paraphrasis* ([Anm. 27], S. 11).

³¹ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 783; ‚Hoc porro poema Horatii nostri versatur in genere didactico. Docet quippe poeta qua ratione tractanda sint poemata‘.

³² *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 785–786.

³³ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 794.

³⁴ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 803–807. Wie Robortello ([Anm. 27], S. 9–10 der *Paraphrasis*) verweist auch Nannius auf die Behandlung dieses Themas in Aristoteles' *Rhetorik* II, 12–14 (1388b31–1390b13).

Auch bei weniger technischen Aspekten der Rhetorik hat Nannius die antiken Lehrmeister vor Augen: Für Horazens Empfehlung einer ständigen und langfristigen Revision der eigenen Texte (ad 291, ad 388) ruft er einen ähnlichen Rat Quintilians in Erinnerung.³⁵

Indem Nannius versucht, einzelne in der *Ars Poetica* enthaltene „praecepta“ auf den Punkt zu bringen, kommt er auch dazu, einzelne Abschnitte der Schrift zu definieren und Übergänge zu einer neuen Thematik festzustellen. Doch geht er dabei längst nicht so weit wie andere Kommentatoren vor und nach ihm. Josse Bade hatte als erster die *Ars Poetica* in thematische Sektionen aufgeteilt und jeweils eine konkrete „regula“ aus diesen einzelnen Sektionen destilliert.³⁶ Manche spätere Interpreten betrieben diese Systematisierung und Kategorisierung der Inhalte der Schrift noch intensiver, nicht selten auch um die berühmte Kritik Scaligers, Horazens *Ars Poetica* sei eine „ars sine arte tradita“,³⁷ zu entkräften. Indes lenkt Nannius die Aufmerksamkeit auch auf bestimmte literarische Merkmale der horazischen Schrift, wie das Aufführen eines fingierten Gegners – eine Technik, die Nannius als „species dialogismi aut ἀντιποφορᾶς“ (ad 9)³⁸ bezeichnet –, oder die satirische Schreibart, mit der Horaz nicht nur Autoren aus früheren Zeiten, sondern auch Zeitgenossen, wie Accius, kritisiere (ad 258)³⁹ und bei der er nicht selten auf Ironie zurückgreife, so etwa in Bezug auf Accius bei „nobilibus“ (ad 259).⁴⁰

Nannius beschränkt aber seine Beobachtungen nicht auf poetische, rhetorische oder sonstige literarischen Aspekte, sondern nimmt die

³⁵ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 821 und 830–831, mit einem Hinweis auf Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* X, 4,1.

³⁶ Zum ersten Mal tat er dies 1505 in der zweiten Auflage seines *Ars*-Kommentars (Renouard, *Josse Badius* [Anm. 18] 498).

³⁷ Siehe Vogt-Spira G. – Deitz L. (Hrsg.), Iulius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem. Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, Bd. V (Stuttgart – Bad Canstatt: 2003), S. 402–403: „De Arte quaeres quid sentiam. Quid? Equidem quod de arte sine arte tradita“; vgl. Scaligers Widmungsbrief *ad Sylvium filium* (ibidem, Bd. I [Stuttgart – Bad Canstatt: 1994] 12–13): „Nam et Horatius Artem cum inscripsit, adeo sine ulla docet arte, ut satirae propius totum opus illud esse videatur“.

³⁸ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 784. Der griechische Terminus ist in einer fehlerhaften Form gedruckt worden; gemeint ist ἀντιποφορᾶς (vgl. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* IX, 2,106 und IX, 3,87).

³⁹ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 816.

⁴⁰ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 816. Eine ironische Nuance in „nobilibus“ vermerkt ebenfalls laut Jacobus Cruquius der von ihm postulierte Commentator Cruquianus: *Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex antiquissimis undecim libris manuscriptis et schedis aliquot emendatus et plurimis locis cum commentariis antiquis expurgatus et editus, opera Iacobi Cruquii Messenii* [...]. *Eiusdem in eundem enarrationes, observationes et variae lectiones, cum aliis quibusdam et indice locupletissimo* (Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin: 1578) 631.

Kommentierung der *Ars Poetica* ebenso zum Anlass, auch über den Horaz-Text hinaus Sachwissen über die Literatur und Kultur der Antike zu vermitteln. Hiermit handhabt Nannius das seit den antiken Kommentatoren traditionelle Format des lemmatischen Kommentars, nach dem sogar ein einzelnes Wort einen Zugang zu den verschiedensten Bereichen der antiken Welt verschaffen konnte. So werden in Verbindung mit den Erläuterungen zum angemessenen Erzählstil (ad 146–147)⁴¹ auch mehrere Erzählstoffe der Trojasage ausführlich beschrieben. Die Nennung des Satyrspiels und der Alten Komödie gibt Nannius Anlass, die Varianten des antiken satirischen Schrifttums zu beschreiben (ad 220–221)⁴² und die Entwicklung der antiken Komödie in großen Zügen nachzuzeichnen (ad 281).⁴³ Auch die Realienkunde wird nicht außer Acht gelassen: Manchmal begnügt sich Nannius mit einem Hinweis auf eine einschlägige Studie, wie Guillaume Budés *De asse* (ad 325),⁴⁴ manchmal untermauert er seine Erläuterung selber mit einschlägigen Belegen aus der antiken Literatur, etwa zum *trochus* (ad 380).⁴⁵

3. *Tradition und Innovation*

Es ist klar, dass Nannius mit seinem Kommentar nicht in erster Linie mit den sonstigen modernen Kommentatoren rivalisieren oder das Verständnis der horazischen Poetik durch neue Einsichten vertiefen oder verfeinern wollte. Seine Absicht ist es vielmehr, die *Ars Poetica* auf einer allgemeineren Ebene zu erschließen – und zwar insbesondere für seine Studenten im Hörsaal des Collegium Trilingue. Zum schulmäßigen Charakter seines Kommentars passt auch die Tatsache, dass er sich noch regelmäßig mit den antiken Scholiasten Pseudo-Acro und Porphyrio auseinandersetzt und sie häufiger zitiert als moderne Kommentatoren. Wegen der ausgesprochen philologisch-historischen Perspektive seiner Kommentierung gehören diese antiken Kommentatoren noch ganz zum Kommentarfundus, aus dem er schöpft – viel mehr als im Falle von Texterklärern, die stärker poetologisch interessiert waren.⁴⁶ Als Pseudo-Acro und Porphyrio eine – auch

⁴¹ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 801–802.

⁴² *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 812–813.

⁴³ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 819.

⁴⁴ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 825.

⁴⁵ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 830.

⁴⁶ So zitiert Nannius auch insgesamt siebenmal aus dem Terenz-Kommentar Donats und einmal aus dem Vergil-Kommentar des Servius.

heute noch nicht leicht verständliche – Textstelle (86: „descriptas servare vices“) unterschiedlich deuten, ist dies für Nannius ein Grund zu beanstanden, „quam sint eorum mendosa commentaria“. ⁴⁷ Aber auch wenn den beiden Scholiasten gelegentlich widersprochen wird, ⁴⁸ werden ihre Deutungen dennoch mehrmals in positivem Sinne referiert.

Bei seinem Studium der Scholien Pseudo-Acros konnte Nannius eine wichtige Quelle auswerten, nämlich die Horaz-Handschrift oder -Handschriften aus der Sankt-Petersabtei auf dem Blandijnberg (mons Blandinus) in Gent – eine Dokumentation, die später von Jacobus Cruquius in den Mittelpunkt der Horaz-Exegese gerückt, 1566 aber bei der Zerstörung der Abtei im reformatorischen Bildersturm vernichtet wurde. ⁴⁹ Nannius ist offenbar der erste, der diesen oder diese Textzeugen – aus seiner Darstellung wird nicht ganz klar, ob er nur eine oder, wie Cruquius nach ihm, mehrere Handschriften gesehen hat – ausgewertet hat. ⁵⁰ So entdeckte und identifizierte er in diesem Textmaterial die Horaz-Vita Suetons; eine Edition hat er in seine *Miscellanea* aufgenommen. Außerdem korrigierte er in den *Miscellanea* mit Hilfe der blandinianischen Handschrift(en) einige Stellen aus den Oden des Horaz sowie aus den Glossen Acros zu den Oden, Epoden und zur *Ars*; die Anmerkungen zu den die *Ars Poetica* betreffenden Stellen finden sich im Horaz-Kommentar. Wir hören übrigens in den *Miscellanea* auch, dass Nannius einst vorhatte, das Gesamtcorpus der Horaz-Glossen Acros neu zu edieren. ⁵¹ Nannius wollte durch die Hervorhebung einzelner Varianten aus seiner blandinianischen Quelle auch die Verderbtheit des Horaz-Textes in den Vulgathandschriften demonstrieren. ⁵² Dennoch folgte er dieser Quelle nicht blind: So entschied er sich im Vers 193 für die (korrekte) Lesart „actoris“ gegen die

⁴⁷ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 791.

⁴⁸ Siehe neben der gerade genannten Stelle z.B. noch Nannius' Widerlegung Acros ad 373 (*In artem poeticam* [Anm. 15] 829), wo Nannius „columnae“ korrekterweise als „Läden der Buchhändler“ deutet.

⁴⁹ Zu Jacobus Cruquius und seinen Horaz-Ausgaben siehe zuletzt Verbeke D., „Horace from Bruges to Cambridge: the editions by Jacobus Cruquius and Richard Bentley“, in Sacré D. – Papy J. (Hrsg.), *Syntagmatia. Essays on Neo-Latin literature in honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 26 (Löwen: 2009) 461–471 sowie seine bio-bibliographische Skizze des Cruquius auf der Webseite des Projektes „Europa Humanistica“ (<http://www.europahumanistica.org/?Cruquius-Jacobus> [zuletzt abgerufen am 3.2.2013]).

⁵⁰ Nannius' Auswertung der blandinianischen Horaz-Handschrift(en) ist knapp dargestellt worden von Polet, *Petrus Nannius* (Anm. 1) 150–157.

⁵¹ Siehe *Miscellanea* (Anm. 28) 83 und 92.

⁵² Siehe z.B. *Miscellanea* (Anm. 28) 88: „Infinita praetermitto, ut tamen specimen exhibeam quam vulgo corruptis exemplaribus utamur“.

Variante „auctoris“, die er aus einer blandinianischen Handschrift zitierte (und die auch aus sonstigen Handschriften und Drucken bekannt ist).⁵³ Manche Varianten ließ Nannius unerwähnt: Ad 161 z.B. erwähnte er nicht die Lesart „imberbus“, die abweicht von der Vulgatafassung „imberbis“ und von Cruquius aus dem „Blandinianus antiquissimus“ zitiert wird.⁵⁴ Es handelt sich hier um eine nicht unbedeutende und auch sonst aus Ps.-Acro bekannte Variante, die durch die indirekte Überlieferung bei Charisius – wie auch schon Cruquius *ad loc.* bemerkt – bestätigt wird und von Richard Bentley in den Horaz-Text aufgenommen wurde. Nannius hat daher entweder eine andere Handschrift als Cruquius eingesehen oder zumindest in diesem Falle die Variante, die Cruquius dem von ihm postulierten Commentator zuschrieb, anders als Cruquius bewertet. Insgesamt bleibt unklar, wie Nannius' Arbeit am blandinianischen Textmaterial sich zu jener des Cruquius verhält.

Von den immerhin zahlreichen modernen Kommentatoren, die bis zum Zeitraum von Nannius' Lehrtätigkeit in Erscheinung getreten waren, werden insgesamt nur zwei jeweils einmal namentlich zitiert, Ianus Parrhasius (ad 9) und Cristoforo Landino (ad 86), und zwar von diesen beiden mit Zustimmung nur Parrhasius.⁵⁵ Es ist schwierig herauszufinden, wie viele und welche Kommentare Nannius darüber hinaus näher gekannt oder konsultiert hat. Spezifische Abhängigkeiten von einzelnen Kommentaren sind seinen Erläuterungen nicht zu entnehmen. Vielmehr sticht ein anderer Name heraus, nämlich der des Erasmus. Für die in der *Ars Poetica* enthaltenen Sentenzen und sprichwortartigen Redewendungen verweist Nannius systematisch auf Erasmus' *Adagia*, so dass Erasmus im *Ars*-Kommentar der am häufigsten zitierte zeitgenössische Gelehrte ist.⁵⁶ Zum einen hebt Nannius auf diese Weise einen charakteristischen

⁵³ Siehe *Miscellanea* (Anm. 28) 95; vgl. *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 809. Die Handschrift wird dort „vetus codex“ genannt; in den *Miscellanea* scheint Nannius damit in aller Regel eine blandinianische Handschrift zu bezeichnen (an anderen Stellen in den *Miscellanea* kommen auch die Bezeichnungen „codex vetustus“, „vetus exemplar“ und „antiquus codex“ neben „Blandinius codex“ und „Blandinianum volumen“ vor). Cruquius zitiert allerdings aus dem von ihm rekonstruierten Commentator Cruquianus die Lesart „actoris“ ([Anm. 40] 629 und 642) und setzt diese Variante auch in seinen Text.

⁵⁴ Siehe seine Edition (Anm. 40) 628 und 641.

⁵⁵ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 784 und 791.

⁵⁶ Einmal (ad 114) verweist Nannius auch auf eine *varia lectio* („divesne loquatur an Irus“) aus Erasmus' *Adagia*, die in der Horaz-Kommentierung zuerst von Henricus Glareanus verzeichnet wurde; siehe *Q. Horatii Flacci poemata omnia, studio ac diligentia Hen. Glareani P.L. recognita eiusdemque annotationibus illustrata* (Freiburg, Ioannes Faber Emmeus: 1533) 98 der *Annotationes*.

Zug der horazischen Dichtung hervor und kann auch hier gerade den griechischen Hintergrund der entsprechenden horazischen Redewendung mit Hilfe von Erasmus' *Adagia* dokumentieren, zum anderen erweist er so natürlich dieser Koryphäe der damaligen humanistischen Gelehrsamkeit und dem Inspirator des Collegium Trilingue in Löwen auf ungezwungene und passende Weise die Ehre.⁵⁷

In Bezug auf ein Thema, das ihn sehr interessierte, nämlich die Frage des richtigen Übersetzens, hat Nannius die Ideen einer weiteren Gestalt, die zum Ambiente des Löwener Humanismus gehörte, rezipiert, und zwar des Juan Luis Vives. Bekanntlich hatte sich Vives niemals fest an der Löwener Universität etablieren können und war sein Verhältnis zu Erasmus zeitweilig etwas angespannt. Vielleicht haben diese Umstände Nannius davon abgehalten, Vives explizit in seinem Kommentar zu würdigen. Außer einigen verstreuten Bemerkungen zu seinen insgesamt elf Übersetzungsprojekten⁵⁸ hat Nannius zweimal seine Ansichten zur Übersetzungstechnik näher dargelegt, zunächst in seinen *Miscellanea* (1548),⁵⁹ und zwar ausgehend von Terenzens Prolog (V, 7–8) zum *Eunuchus*, danach in etwas abgeänderter Form im Horaz-Kommentar ad 133–134.⁶⁰ Im Zentrum der humanistischen Übersetzungstheorie –im Wesentlichen bezieht sich diese Theorie auf Übersetzungen vom Griechischen ins Lateinische, – steht immer die Frage, wie sich der Respekt vor dem Original versöhnen lässt mit notwendigen Anpassungen des Wortlautes, um die

⁵⁷ Nannius hatte von 1518 bis 1521 in Löwen studiert und auch am damals gerade gegründeten Collegium Trilingue Vorlesungen gehört. Somit war er als junger Student vermutlich Erasmus in Löwen begegnet. Nähere Kontakte scheint es aber nicht gegeben zu haben. 1537 gab Nannius eine Gedichtsammlung zu Ehren des ein Jahr zuvor verstorbenen Erasmus heraus: *D. Erasmi Roterodami epitaphia per clarissimos aliquot viros conscripta* (Löwen, Rutger Rescius: 1537).

⁵⁸ Von Polet ([Anm. 1] 91–124) sind alle Übersetzungen genannt und gewürdigt worden, außer den Lukian-Übersetzungen, die offensichtlich weder Polet noch De Vocht bekannt waren und zum ersten Mal in einer unveröffentlichten Löwener Magisterarbeit analysiert worden sind: Bloemen J., *Petrus Nannius' Latijnse vertaling van twaalf dialogen van Lucianus* (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven: 1985). Es handelt sich hier um Nannius' früheste Übersetzungsarbeit, die noch aus seiner Alkmaarer Zeit stammt: *Aliquot dialogi Luciani in linguam Latinam traducti Petro Nannio interprete Alcmariæ bonas litteras proficiente* (Deventer, Albert Pafraet: 1528). Wichtig sind insbesondere die Bemerkungen im Widmungsbrief zur Übersetzung von Demosthenes' Rede *de immunitate adversus Leptinem* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542), wo Nannius eine Demosthenes-Übersetzung für anspruchsvoller als eine Lukian-Übersetzung hält; siehe Polet, *Petrus Nannius* (Anm. 1) 104–107. Auch Nannius' Ausführungen in einem Brief aus 1546 an den Bischof von Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, über die unterschiedlichen Anforderungen bei einem profanen und einem sakralen Text sind beachtenswert; siehe Polet, *Petrus Nannius* (Anm. 1) 289–290.

⁵⁹ *Miscellanea* (Anm. 28) 5–7; siehe Polet, *Petrus Nannius* (Anm. 1) 145–147.

⁶⁰ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 799–800; siehe Polet, *Petrus Nannius* (Anm. 1) 182–183.

sprachliche und literarische Qualität des Originals angemessen wiederzugeben.⁶¹ Dieses Problem wurde auch schon von Cicero in seiner Schrift *De optimo genere oratorum* als Kernfrage der korrekten Übersetzungstechnik betrachtet; Ciceros Ausführungen wurden noch von Erasmus in den Begleitschreiben zu seinen Übersetzungen von Libanius (Epist. 177 [1503]) und Euripides (Epist. 188 [1506]) in wesentlichen Zügen aufgegriffen.⁶² Vives war der erste, der diese Problematik in einer dreiteiligen Kategorisierung zu erfassen versucht hat, und zwar im letzten Abschnitt seines Rhetoriktraktates *De ratione dicendi* (1533).⁶³ Dort unterscheidet er – je nach Ansatz, Funktion und Zweck – drei Typen von Übersetzungen: Im ersten Typus wird nur der Sinn beachtet und kann der Übersetzer nach Bedarf spezifische Elemente hinzufügen oder weglassen, solange die ganze Übersetzung sprachlich korrekt bleibt – bei diesem Typus denkt Vives insbesondere an wissenschaftliche Texte. Im zweiten Typus wird der Wortlaut des Originaltextes wörtlich wiedergegeben – was allerdings Vives wegen der unterschiedlichen Beschaffenheit von Sprachen kaum möglich und außerdem für didaktische Zwecke wenig sinnvoll erscheint. Im dritten Typus, der für Vives den Idealfall bildet, werden sowohl der Sinn als auch die literarische Qualität des Originaltextes berücksichtigt, wobei der Übersetzer nach Bedarf die sprachliche und stilistische Expressivität und Schönheit des Originals mit anderen literarischen Mitteln erzeugen kann, z. B. wenn die literarischen Merkmale des Originals nicht unmittelbar übertragbar sind.⁶⁴

Nannius geht von dieser Dreiteilung aus und entwickelt sie auf kreative Weise weiter.⁶⁵ In den *Miscellanea* entwirft er – ausgehend von einer Erläuterung des Prologs von Terenzs *Eunuchus* – eine ähnliche

⁶¹ Zur Übersetzungstheorie im Renaissancehumanismus siehe etwa Thiermann P., *Die Orationes Homeri des Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Kritische Edition der lateinischen und kastilianischen Übersetzung mit Prolegomena und Kommentar*, Mnemosyne. Supplementa 126 (Leiden: 1993) 151–161 und Botley P., *Latin translation in the Renaissance. The theory and practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: 2004).

⁶² Siehe Allen P.S. (Hrsg.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, tomus I (Oxford: 1906) 390–393 und 417–420.

⁶³ Liber tertius, cap. 12: *Versiones seu interpretationes*; siehe Ott A. – Hidalgo-Serna E. (Hrsg.), Juan Luis Vives, *De ratione dicendi*, lateinisch/deutsch, *Ars rhetorica* 5 (Marburg: 1993), 232–237.

⁶⁴ Eine knappe Analyse dieses Textes bietet IJsewijn J., „Vives and humanistic philology“, in Mestre A. (Hrsg.), *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini opera omnia*, I. *Volumen introductorio* (Valencia: 1992) 77–111, hier 86–89.

⁶⁵ In seiner Magisterarbeit untersuchte Bloemen ([Anm. 58] 61–82) Nannius' Übersetzungstheorie, allerdings ohne Bezug zu Vives, und würdigte die Lukian-Übersetzungen anhand der von Nannius selbst erstellten Kategorien.

Dreiteilung, wonach entweder nur auf die *verba* oder nur auf die *sententia* oder auf die *indoles*, die literarische Gesamtqualität des Textes, Rücksicht genommen wird, während die ideale Übersetzung alle drei Aspekte berücksichtigen soll. In seinem Horaz-Kommentar verfeinert er ad 133–134 („*fidus interpres*“) dieses Konzept mit z.T. neuen Termini: Der *interpres* habe drei Anforderungen zu erfüllen, nämlich die *religio*, d. h. den Respekt vor dem Wortlaut des Originals; die *fides*, die getreue Wahrung des Sinnes des Originals, und die *indoles*, d. h. die Erfassung der literarischen Qualität des Originals. Für die *religio* sei *diligentia* erforderlich, für die *fides scientia* und für die *indoles eloquentia*. Im Anschluss misst er – wie auch schon in den *Miscellanea* – die Meriten und Defizite einzelner Übersetzer nach diesen Kriterien. Unter den wenigen Übersetzern, die alle drei „*officia interpretis*“ erfüllt haben, wird – kaum überraschend – Erasmus hervorgehoben, daneben außer Guillaume Budé und Rudolph Agricola insbesondere auch Ermolao Barbaro und Angelo Poliziano.

Neben der Ähnlichkeit des dreigliedrigen Konzeptes sind auch im Detail bestimmte Entsprechungen zwischen Vives und Nannius merkbar. Vives erteilt dem Aristoteles-Übersetzer Theodorus Gaza ein besonderes Lob für seine gelungene Übertragung von Figuren und Tropen aus dem Griechischen ins Lateinische sowie seine passenden lateinischen Wortschöpfungen.⁶⁶ Dieses doppelte Lob wird von Nannius wiederholt: Die Übertragung von Tropen und Figuren wird in seiner Systematik (ad 133) der *fides* zugeordnet;⁶⁷ die Wortschöpfungen werden an anderer Stelle im Kommentar (ad 50)⁶⁸ gepriesen. Des Weiteren betonen beide Gelehrte, dass ein Dichter in seinen Übertragungen bedeutend freier mit allen diesen Regeln umgehen kann als ein Prosa-Übersetzer.⁶⁹ Während Vives dies mit der Übertragung eines Homer-Verses in Ciceros (nur fragmentarisch überlieferten) *De gloria* illustriert,⁷⁰ weist Nannius pauschal auf Vergil und seine kreative Rezeption der Ilias und Odyssee Homers hin.⁷¹

⁶⁶ *De ratione dicendi* (Anm. 63) 234.

⁶⁷ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 799.

⁶⁸ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 788. Dort wird auch Ermolao Barbaro aus demselben Grund gelobt.

⁶⁹ Nannius unterscheidet ad 133 (*In artem poeticam* [Anm. 15] 799) grundsätzlich zwischen einem „*poeta, qui alium imitatur*“, einem „*interpres, qui alium transfert*“ und einem „*paraphrastes, qui eandem materiam dilatat, addendo auctori explicationes*“, d.h. zwischen literarischer Nachahmung, Übersetzung und kommentierender Paraphrase.

⁷⁰ *De ratione dicendi* (Anm. 63) 236.

⁷¹ *In artem poeticam* (Anm. 15) 799.

Insgesamt kann festgehalten werden, dass Nannius' Kommentar zur *Ars Poetica* großteils auf die Vermittlung von philologischem, historischem und antiquarischem Traditionswissen hin orientiert ist. In diesem Sinne hat sein Kommentar eine deutlich andere Ausrichtung als manch besser bekannter Kommentar, in dem literaturkritische Fragen im Vordergrund stehen. Nannius reiht sich im Wesentlichen in die Riege jener Kommentatoren ein, die sich auf eine Wort- und Sacherläuterung konzentrieren. Diese philologische Tradition der *Ars*-Kommentierung findet sich z.B. auch bei Henricus Glareanus⁷² und Ianus Parrhasius⁷³ und fließt um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts ein erstes Mal in umfangreiche Sammeleditionen ein.⁷⁴ Eigene Akzente setzt Nannius insbesondere in Bezug auf die Verbindung des horazischen Textes mit der griechischen Tradition, und zwar auf mehreren Ebenen, von einzelnen Wörtern bis zu den großen literaturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhängen zwischen der griechischen und römischen Antike. Vor diesem Hintergrund lenkt er den Blick gelegentlich auch auf Aristoteles' *Poetik*. Diese Schwerpunktsetzung passt durchaus zu Nannius' sonstigen Bemühungen, Brücken zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Philologie zu schlagen, etwa durch seine Übersetzungstätigkeit. So verwundert es auch nicht, dass Nannius die Verse 133–134 zum Anlass nimmt, seine Vorstellung vom richtigen Übersetzen noch einmal präzise auszuführen.

Mit diesen Interessen setzt Nannius wohl die Tradition des Erasmus fort. Die Gründung des Löwener Collegium Trilingue war nicht zuletzt von der Forderung des Erasmus inspiriert, die drei Heiligen Sprachen in ihrem Zusammenhang zu betrachten und insbesondere beim Studium der Bibel die griechischen und hebräischen Vorstufen des lateinischen Bibeltextes gebührend zu berücksichtigen, um sich dem Gotteswort auf einer

⁷² Anm. 56.

⁷³ A. Iani Parrhasii Cosentini in Q. Horatii Flacci *Artem Poeticam Commentaria luculentissima*, cura et studio Bernardini Martyrani in lucem asserta (Neapel, Johann Sultzbach: 1531).

⁷⁴ Wegweisend für diese Sammelausgaben ist: *Quinti Horatii Flacci poetae Venusini omnia poemata, cum ratione carminum et argumentis ubique insertis, interpretibus Acrone, Porphyrione, Iano Parrhasito [sic], Antonio Mancinello, necnon Iodoco Badio Ascensio, viris eruditissimis, scolisque D. Erasmi Roterodami, Angeli Politiani, M. Antonii Sabellici, Ludovici Caelii Rodigini, Baptistae Pii, Petri Criniti, Aldi Manutii, Matthaei Bonfinis et Iacobi Bononiensis nuper adiunctis. His nos praeterea annotationes doctissimorum Antonii Thylesii Consentini, Francisci Robortelli Utinensis atque Henrici Glareani apprime utiles addidimus. Nicolai Peroti Sipontini libellus de metris odarum. Auctoris vita ex Petro Crinito Florentino. Quae omnia longe politius ac diligentius quam hactenus excusa in luce prodeunt* (Venedig, Hieronymus Scotus: 1544).

philologisch gesicherten Textbasis zu nähern. Am deutlichsten legte Erasmus diese Prinzipien in seiner *Ratio seu methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiam* dar.⁷⁵ Inwiefern diese erasmische „Methode“ für die gesamte philologische Tradition des Collegium Trilingue charakteristisch war, wie einst Henry de Vocht glaubhaft machen wollte, bleibt im Einzelnen noch zu überprüfen. Dass Nannius sich in diese Tradition eingereiht hat, ist auf jeden Fall auch in seinem Horaz-Kommentar klar sichtbar.

⁷⁵ Dieser Text erschien zuerst als Beigabe zu Erasmus' Edition des Neuen Testaments (Basel, Johannes Froben: 1516). Die erste selbständige, erheblich überarbeitete und erweiterte Fassung dieser Abhandlung wurde 1518 in Löwen bei Dirk Martens veröffentlicht.

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SCHOLARLY POLEMIC: BARTOLOMEO FONZIO'S FORGOTTEN COMMENTARY ON JUVENAL

Gergő Gellérfi

SUMMARY

Bartolomeo Fonzio's *Annotationes in Iuvenalem* contains observations on the first six *Satires* of Juvenal. This commentary was written in the last decade of the 15th century, and it fits well into the Quattrocento's increased interest in Juvenal. Remarkably, it seems to have been Fonzio's main purpose to refute earlier views on Juvenal. His method of commenting makes the work peculiar: many of his *annotationes* comment in fact in the first place on earlier commentators on Juvenal – such as Giorgio Merula, Giorgio Valla, Domizio Calderini, and Angelo Poliziano. Some of Fonzio's comments are very offensive, and are written in the style of personal attacks. In this contribution, I examine the characteristics of Fonzio's commentary, his methods of refutation and argumentation, and his philological achievements.

Introduction

Bartolomeo Fonzio (B. della Fonte, Bartholomaeus Fontius), a 15th-century Italian humanist and professor at the University of Florence in the 1480s, attracted attention in modern scholarship for, among other things, his commentary on the *Satires* of Persius,¹ his *Poetics*,² his inaugural orations preceding his six lecture series in Florence,³ and his connections with Hungary, especially with King Matthias Corvinus and the royal library (Bibliotheca Corviniana).⁴ The only monograph on Fonzio was written by Concetto Marchesi, who reconstructed the scholar's life and oeuvre at

¹ This commentary is the topic of ongoing research at Pázmány Péter Catholic University.

² Trinkaus C., "The Unknown Quattrocento Poetics of Bartolommeo della Fonte", *Studies in the Renaissance* 13 (1966) 40–122.

³ Trinkaus C., "A Humanist's Image of Humanism: The Inaugural Orations of Bartolommeo della Fonte", *Studies in the Renaissance* 7 (1960) 90–147.

⁴ Most recently Takács L., "Bartholomaeus Fontius and His Works in the Bibliotheca Corviniana of King Matthias", in Kovács P. – Szovák K. (eds.), *Infima aetas Pannonica: Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History* (Budapest: 2010) 294–308.

the end of the 19th century through archival research and published his achievements in 1900.⁵

Fonzio's first significant philological work was his commentary on Persius, which he finished about 1471. It was published in Milan in 1477 and was reprinted many times.⁶ In 1481, Fonzio was appointed a professor of poetry and oratory at the University of Florence; his colleagues were, among others, Angelo Poliziano and his former professor, Cristoforo Landino, but his stipend was much less than those of the others. In his first few years at the university, Fonzio gave one lecture series on a poet and another on an orator or a historian. The first lecture series dealt with the *Orations* of Cicero and the epos of Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica*). Fonzio had written a commentary in eight books – which has since been lost – on the latter work; perhaps he dedicated it to Matthias Corvinus in 1489. The next year, Fonzio lectured on Lucan and Caesar's *De bello civili*. Judging by his notebooks, Fonzio was very industrious, made his own compilations of various topics, and was familiar with the Latin poetry and rhetoric of Cicero and Quintilian.⁷

In November 1483, Fonzio left Florence for Rome because of a conflict with Angelo Poliziano, and he started to teach eloquence. He returned after one year, but henceforth he gave only a single lecture series annually.⁸ His topics were Silius Italicus's *Punica*, Horace's *Odes* and *Satires*, and Juvenal's *Satires*, respectively. He held inaugural orations at the commencement of his courses,⁹ and in the last one, entitled *In satyrae et studiorum humanitatis laudationem*, he defended humanistic studies against law and medicine (that were taught at Pisa from a common budget with the Florentine *studio*).¹⁰ His lecture series on Juvenal may have been his answer to Poliziano's public lecture on the satirist that took place two years earlier.¹¹ In 1489, some months before the death of Matthias Corvinus, Fonzio travelled to Buda, where he was preparing a catalogue for the Bibliotheca Corviniana. In the early 1490s, between the summer of

⁵ Marchesi C., *Bartolomeo della Fonte* (Catania: 1900). Marchesi gives a detailed account of Fonzio's biography on pages 9–97.

⁶ Trinkaus, "A Humanist's Image" 127–128 gives a list of the manuscripts and the incunabula editions.

⁷ Ibidem 91–94, and Trinkaus, "The Unknown Quattrocento Poetics" 51–53.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Trinkaus, "A Humanist's Image" deals with these orations.

¹⁰ Ibidem 94.

¹¹ Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* 125.

1490 and the spring of 1492,¹² he finished his *Poetics*, and soon he left Florence and the humanist's way of life to become a priest in a small Italian town.¹³ He died in 1513.

Trinkaus, the author of two important articles dealing with Fonzio, emphasizes that 'one cannot resolve the question whether Fontius was a scholar-critic or a poet-critic',¹⁴ since Fonzio was not only a scholar and a professor but also a poet, and he wrote both Latin and Italian verse.¹⁵ One book of his *Elegiarum libri duo* has been found, and additional poems are also listed by Kristeller, who praised their quality.¹⁶ Moreover, Fonzio also made poetic translations from Greek authors, Pseudo-Phocylides, and the *Argonauticon* of Apollonius Rhodius, of which the latter was preserved. For the estimation of his works as a poet and a translator, Trinkaus's opinion is worth quoting; he said that Fonzio was 'a careful and even gifted philologist, commentator, and critic of texts. He was relatively mediocre in other respects'.¹⁷

Fonzio's *Annotationes* fits well into the Quattrocento's increased interest in Juvenal. From the middle of the century, new commentaries took the place of the earlier, mainly anonymous *scholia*, the earliest of which originated from a lost commentary from about 400.¹⁸ The rising interest in Juvenal can be traced back to various causes: the enigmatic nature of Juvenal's verses; the popularity of contemporary satire; and the suitability for the exposition of the commentators' own erudition. In the meantime, Juvenal's *Satires* became not only the subject of commentaries but a part of education and the topic of public lectures as well. Enea Silvio Piccolomini, for example, mentioned Juvenal as one of the authors to be studied by the young Ladislaus of Bohemia and Hungary. From the 1440s, some prominent Italian humanists were concerned with Juvenal: Guarino da Verona,

¹² For the dating of the work, see Trinkaus, "The Unknown Quattrocento Poetics" 44–45.

¹³ Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* 94–97.

¹⁴ Trinkaus, "The Unknown Quattrocento Poetics" 54.

¹⁵ A list of Fonzio's works, manuscripts, and editions is given by Trinkaus, "A Humanist's Image" 126–132.

¹⁶ Kristeller P.O., *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: 1956) 381–382.

¹⁷ Trinkaus, "A Humanist's Image" 94.

¹⁸ The compiler could be Nicaeus, the apprentice of Servius, whose name appears in two manuscripts by Juvenal. Friedländer discusses the role of Nicaeus in the textual tradition of Juvenal's *Satires*: D. Junii Juvenalis, *Saturarum libri V mit erklärenden Anmerkungen*, ed. L. Friedländer (Leipzig: 1895) 81–88.

Giovanni Tortelli,¹⁹ Gaspare Veronese, Angelo Sabino, Domizio Calderini, Giorgio Merula, Giorgio Valla, Poliziano,²⁰ and Antonio Mancinelli, among others. The *Satires* incited violent quarrels, for instance, between Sabino and Calderini or between Merula and Poliziano – the latter was the first significant dispute between two humanists of the same school.²¹

Fonzio's *Annotationes in Iuvenalem* were written at the end of the Quattrocento. The work was dated to 1489–1490 by Marchesi,²² and this dating has been accepted by Sanford, among others.²³ However, this dating seems to be unacceptable, since Fonzio cites Antonio Mancinelli seven times, and once he uses the verb *scribit*, so he certainly refers to a written work.²⁴ Mancinelli's *Familiare commentum* concerning Juvenal was published in 1492. Although Fonzio does not specify his source for Mancinelli's views, he mentions that Mancinelli on one occasion refers to Poliziano's *Miscellanea*, published in 1489.²⁵ In the *Familiare commentum*, Mancinelli does cite Poliziano concerning that *locus*.²⁶ Thus, in my opinion, the dating accepted previously must be rejected, and the *Familiare commentum*'s publication date of 1492 can be designated as the *terminus post quem* of the *Annotationes*.²⁷

¹⁹ Sanford E.M., "Giovanni Tortelli's Commentary on Juvenal", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 82 (1951) 207–218.

²⁰ For Fonzio and Poliziano, see Daneloni A., "Tra le carte di Fonzio: nuove testimonianze dell'Expositio Iuvenalis del Poliziano", in Gargan L. – Sacchi M.P. (eds.), *I Classici e L'Università Umanistica: Atti del Convegno di Pavia 22–24 novembre 2001* (Messina: 2004) 507–607.

²¹ Unless noted otherwise, the source of the data in this paragraph is Sanford's essential article on Juvenal's Renaissance Commentaries: Sanford E.M., "Renaissance Commentaries on Juvenal", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 79 (1948) 92–112.

²² Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* 125.

²³ Sanford, "Renaissance Commentaries on Juvenal" 106.

²⁴ Fol. 25v: '[...], scribit Mancinellus, [...]' – '[...], writes Mancinelli, [...]'].

²⁵ Fol. 17v: 'Mancinellus tamen credo novitate interpretationis impulsus Polyitianum secutus Miscellaneorum capite septimo et sexagesimo [...]' – 'However, Mancinelli, I think, inspired by the novelty of the interpretation, follows chapter 67 of Poliziano's *Miscellanea* [...]'].

²⁶ I have examined the edition from 1505: Mancinelli Antonio, *Juvenalis familiare commentum*. (Paris, Josse Bade: 1505) fol. XVIII.

²⁷ Daneloni comes to the same conclusion, and he even states that the work was written about 1495–1496. See Daneloni, "Tra le carte di Fonzio" 529–530. Sanford dismissed the possibility of a compilation date of 1492 or later because 'references to the commentary Mancinelli, first published 1492, are inserted only as marginal additions'. Sanford E.M., "Juvenal", in Kristeller P. O. (ed.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries I* (Washington: 1960) 227. However, the sentence cited above, where Mancinelli refers to Poliziano's *Miscellanea*, belongs to the main text, and it can't be regarded as a later addition.

Research has paid little attention to the work so far. Marchesi devotes four pages to the *Annotationes* in his monograph on Fonzio, wherein he concentrates on his vituperation of his rivals (among them Poliziano) and quotes long passages from the work; however, he does not get into deeper analysis.²⁸ Sanford gives only two sentences to the *Annotationes* in his aforementioned article,²⁹ and he deals with it on two pages in the chapter on Juvenal in the first volume of *Catalogus translationum and commentariorum*.³⁰ More recently, Daneloni discussed the *Annotationes* in his treatise on Poliziano and Fonzio's other, much shorter work on Juvenal.³¹ As mentioned above, Daneloni corrects the earlier dating of the work, and he briefly exposes Fonzio's attitude toward the earlier commentators Merula, Giorgio Valla, Calderini, and Poliziano.³²

The Commentary

The *Annotationes in Iuvenalem*, dedicated to Lorenzo Strozzi,³³ seems incomplete, as it contains observations only on the first six of the sixteen Satires of Juvenal. It has never been published, and it is not mentioned by later commentators either.³⁴ It is preserved in one manuscript only (Florence, Bibliotheca Riccardiana, codex 1172). The first forty-five folios of the codex contain Fonzio's works in his own hand: his observations on Livy, Book 21 (fols. 1–9); his *Annotationes in Iuvenalem*; and his *Annales suorum temporum*. Xenophon's *Ephesian Tale* occupies the remaining part of the codex.³⁵ Each page of the *Annotationes* has about thirty lines, a large left margin, and wide empty parts at the top and the bottom that the author used for emendations on a few pages.

Concerning the characteristics of the *Annotationes*, we must first observe that Fonzio's main purpose was to question and refute earlier views, since he cites the opinions of other scholars in the case of every

²⁸ Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* 125–128.

²⁹ Sanford, "Renaissance Commentaries on Juvenal" 106.

³⁰ Sanford, "Juvenal" 227–229.

³¹ Cod. Ric. 153. fols. 135–139.

³² Daneloni, "Tra le carte di Fonzio" 529–531.

³³ Daneloni identifies 'Laurentius Stroza' as Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi (1489–1549); see Daneloni, "Tra le carte di Fonzio" 530.

³⁴ Sanford, "Renaissance Commentaries on Juvenal" 106.

³⁵ Morpurgo describes the codex in the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Riccardiana: Morpurgo S., *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze I. Manoscritti Italiani* (Rome: 1900) 219–220.

examined *locus*.³⁶ On these occasions, he refers to the criticized humanists with expressions such as 'alii interpretes', 'quidam litterator', 'a quibusdam', and 'non desint, qui'. Giorgio Valla, Giorgio Merula, and Domizio Calderini figure most prominently in the *Annotationes*, as the whole work seems to be written as an attack against them. Fonzio refutes Giorgio Valla in forty different commentary discussions, Merula in thirty-three, and in twenty-three he questions Calderini's views. Although Angelo Poliziano was a bitter enemy of Fonzio,³⁷ for the Juvenal commentary he is much less important than the other three commentators, as he is mentioned only three times. Furthermore, Fonzio extends his polemical discussions on three other humanists: Antonio Mancinelli, whose *Familiare commentum* gives the *terminus post quem* of 1492 (seven times); Giovanni Tortelli (four times); and Francesco Filelfo (remark on the *Convivia Mediolanensia*). Fonzio also mentions Francesco Gaddi, a friend of his since the early 1470s:³⁸ Fonzio says that he has examined Gaddi's 'very old' manuscript of Juvenal.³⁹

Fonzio discussed and criticized commentaries from Roman Antiquity as well. For example, he reacted to Servius's annotations on Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Bucolics* in a very harsh and outspoken way. He was even more critical of annotations ascribed to the grammarian Probus. Giorgio Valla had quoted in his commentary ancient *scholia* from a manuscript under the name of the ancient grammarian Probus (Pseudo-Probus; since lost).⁴⁰ Fonzio did not agree a single time with Pseudo-Probus's solutions, and he criticized Giorgio Valla heavily for doing so.⁴¹

In the structure of the *Annotationes* we can observe a kind of disproportion, since the length of the discussion of a single satire and the number of the analyzed Juvenalian passages differ largely through the work. As he goes forth on the *Satires*, the author deals proportionally less and less with a single poem. Fonzio examines twenty-four problems of the 171-line

³⁶ He exposes eighty-one problems in Juvenal; of these, there are only four where he does not mention any other commentator by name whose views he refutes.

³⁷ Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* 125.

³⁸ Lillie A., *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century: An Architectural and Social History* (Cambridge: 2005) 187.

³⁹ Fol. 30v: 'Inspexi tamen antiquissimum Francisci Gaddii nostri codicem [...]'.
⁴⁰ For this Probus, see Parker's article: Parker H., "Other Remarks on the Other Sulpicia", *The Classical World* 86 (1992) 89–95.

⁴¹ For example, fol. 21v: 'At si Probum iam nimium saepe nugas et inania verba iactantem videt, quid eius tam crebro stolidi refert dicta?' – 'But if he understands that Probus comes up more than too many times with ridiculous remarks and words without any content, why does he cite so many times his stupid remarks?'.

Satire 1 in fifteen and a half pages, while in the case of *Satire* 2, which is nearly the same length, he highlights only fourteen problems and discusses them in ten and a half pages. The problems of *Satire* 4, *Satire* 5, and the first lines of *Satire* 6 together occupy only six and a half pages out of forty-nine.

Fonzio's aggressive tone, which can be observed in the disputation and vituperation of his rivals, makes the work peculiar. Some of his comments on Merula, Giorgio Valla, and Poliziano are very offensive, and he even gets personal on a few occasions. At some points in his work, Fonzio highlights contradictions in the cited opinion, or he emphasizes how much it differs from Juvenal's intentions. He says about Merula's remark in line 49 of *Satire* 1: 'I don't know if I ever have read anything that contradicted itself that much'.⁴² Not much later, Fonzio questions Merula's knowledge of the topic and the correctness of his work. He cites Merula's opinion on the 'sportula' ('paltry basket'),⁴³ and says that 'it reveals that he does not know how the Emperors used to feed the Roman plebs'.⁴⁴ Concerning the proper name 'Isaeus' in line 74 of *Satire* 4, Merula states that it refers to the orator Isaeus or the River Isaeus. Regarding the latter, Fonzio declares that this was only invented by Merula, while it does not make sense.⁴⁵

Giorgio Valla is the other main target of Fonzio's harsh criticism. On the *verso* of fol. 13, he underlines the obscurity of Giorgio Valla's style, saying that the reader can hardly discern what Giorgio Valla means.⁴⁶ The strongest criticism of Giorgio Valla can be found on fol. 25r, where Fonzio questions Giorgio Valla's sanity.⁴⁷ Of course, Fonzio's Florentine rival, Poliziano, is attacked violently in the *Annotationes* as well. Discussing lines 81–86 of *Satire* 1, Fonzio examines the grammatical structure of the passage, and for that purpose he uses the last lines of Virgil's *Eclogue* 4.

⁴² Fol. 14v: 'Nescio an quicquam inter se tam discrepans unquam legerim'.

⁴³ Juvenal 1, 95–96: 'Nunc sportula primo limine parva sedet [...]' – 'Now the paltry basket sits on the doorstep [...]'.

⁴⁴ Fol. 17r: 'Ex quo parum scisse arguitur imperantium Caesarum in alenda Romana plebe consuetudinem [...]'.

⁴⁵ Fol. 26r: 'Quem Isaeum fluvium posuisse ubi vero locorum sit, non addidisse, indicio est ab eo confictum esse contra poetae mentem [...]' – 'The fact that he mentioned the river Isaeus, but did not say where it is situated, indicates that he invented the river by himself, against the intentions of the poet [...]'.

⁴⁶ 'Quae omnia ita confuse refert, ut vix lector quid probet, inveniat' – 'All that he presents in such a disorderly and chaotic way that the reader can hardly discern what he [i.e. Valla] means'.

⁴⁷ '[...] hastam pro vindicta poni nemo sanae mentis approbat' – '[...] nobody with sane mind would agree to put the word "hasta" here for "vindicta"'.

He assesses Poliziano's opinion on these lines in the following way: 'he [i.e. Poliziano] makes the content which in itself is sufficiently clear and simple, obscure through long digressions that do not contribute at all to the meaning or structure [of Juvenal's verses]'.⁴⁸ The personal nature of their rivalry becomes apparent in one comment, since Poliziano is the only one of the cited humanists whose biographical data is dealt with when Fonzio mentions his contemporary's public lectures.⁴⁹

Fonzio's attitude toward Calderini is different, as he always speaks about him in a tone of respect.⁵⁰ Disputing his views, the author only says that they contradict the words of the poet,⁵¹ but he never makes sarcastic comments. While Fonzio sometimes underlines the shortcomings of other scholars' knowledge, he is permissive with Calderini, using expressions like 'as if he wouldn't know'⁵² instead of stating that he does not know something.

Fonzio sometimes reflects on the refuted opinions with very smart and humorous comments. On the *verso* of fol. 17, Fonzio refers to Mancinelli – who thought that with the verb 'crepitat'⁵³ Juvenal was talking about a crow – by saying: 'he croaks about the crow'.⁵⁴ Interpreting lines 63–64 of *Satire* 3, Fonzio makes two comments of this kind; first, he states that nothing can be more 'obliquus' ('weird') than Giorgio Valla, who treats the words 'obliquus' and 'rusticus' as synonyms,⁵⁵ and not much later he adds that the same adjective can be understood as 'drunk' only by someone who is actually drunk.⁵⁶

The methods of Fonzio's argumentation are very diverse, as are their lengths. We can find very simple explanations in his work, such as when he refutes earlier views using the etymology of a given word. The adverb

⁴⁸ Fol. 16v: 'Qui rem per se satis apertam et facilem verborum nihil ad sententiam aut ordinem attinentium ambagibus obscuram reddidit'.

⁴⁹ Fol. 25r: '[...] nisi Polytiano hunc poetam publice profitenti placuisset [...] – [...] if it would not have been Poliziano's opinion in his public lectures on this poet [...]'].

⁵⁰ This is also emphasized by Daneloni, "Tra le carte di Fonzio" 531.

⁵¹ For example, on fol. 16r: 'contrarium verbis poetae est'.

⁵² Fol. 25v: 'tanquam nesciat'.

⁵³ Juvenal 1, 116.

⁵⁴ Fol. 17v: '[...] nescio quid cornicatur inepte' – '[...] I don't know why he stupidly croaks'.

⁵⁵ Fol. 25v: '[...] Georgio Valla nihil excogitari potest obliquius scribente "obliquas idest rusticas"[...] [...] one can't imagine anything more "obliquus" ("weird") than Giorgio Valla who writes that "obliquas" ("weird") means "rusticas" ("boorish") [...]'].

⁵⁶ Fol. 25v: '[...] non nisi accipietur ab ebriis' – '[...] that nobody will accept except drunk people'.

'obiter' in line 241 of *Satire* 3 had been interpreted by Merula as 'praecise' or 'tali causa'. Fonzio says about this:

This compound consists of two words, the word 'ob' that means 'circum' and the word 'iter'. And what happens 'circum iter' that happens under-way, as the things go along. Thus the word 'obiter' means 'at the same time', 'meanwhile'.⁵⁷

To identify historical characters, Fonzio often refers to other ancient authors. Giorgio Valla states about line 24 of *Satire* 1 that the subject of 'opibus cum provocet unus' is Licinus, who lived in the age of Augustus. Fonzio quotes Horace and refers to Suetonius in explaining why Giorgio Valla could have Licinus in mind, and then he quotes Martial to identify this enriched barber as Cinna.⁵⁸ Elsewhere, he uses other authors simply to explain the meaning of a word. One example of this occurs with the verb 'reponam' in the first line of *Satire* 1; this term was interpreted as 'scribam' by earlier commentators, but Fonzio quotes Cicero to prove that the meaning of the verb 'reponere' is 'to give back' here.⁵⁹ The list of cited ancient authors is diverse; it contains forty different writers and poets,⁶⁰ of whom the following are mentioned the most frequently: Suetonius (17), Martial (13), Horace (10), Virgil (7), Tacitus (6), the two Plinys (6 each), and Livy (5). The reason for the frequent occurrences of Suetonius and Martial is that Fonzio used their works as historical sources concerning Juvenal's age, so it is not surprising that the most-cited single work is the *Life of Domitian* (9).

For the discussion of a few passages, Fonzio exceptionally does not use any sources, but interprets Juvenal's words based on common sense. An

⁵⁷ Fols. 29r–29v: 'Ex ob, quod circum significat et iter haec est composita dictio, quasi circum iter. Quae vero circum iter fiunt, intereundum et in transita quodammodo fiunt. Unde obiter quasi pariter ac simul, interimque designat'.

⁵⁸ The explanation can be found on fol. 12r.

⁵⁹ Fol. 11r: 'Vicissim autem referre quippiam hoc verbum significare Tullius ad Lentulum de Vatinius teste scribens ita ostendit: "Cur autem laudarim, peto a te, ut id a me neve in hoc reo, neve in aliis requiras, ne tibi ego idem reponam cum veneris, tametsi possum vel absenti" – "Tullius demonstrates that this word means giving back in turn, when he writes to Lentulus about the witness Vatinius: "But my reason for testifying to his character I beg you will not ask, either in the case of this defendant or of others, lest I retaliate by asking you the same question when you come, home: though I can do so even before you return"'. Fonzio quotes Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* I, 9, 19. transl. by E.S. Shuckburgh.

⁶⁰ Ammianus, Appian, Apuleius, Caesar, Catullus, Cicero, Cinna, Dio Cassius, Festus, Germanicus, Hieronymus, Hirtius, Homer, Horace, Hyginus, Lactantius, Livy, Macrobius, Martial, Martianus Capella, Ovid, Persius, Petronius, Plato, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Plutarch, Propertius, Quintilian, Servius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Silius Italicus, Statius, Strabo, Suetonius, Tacitus, Terence, Valerius Flaccus, Varro, Virgil.

earlier opinion identified the ugly weaver woman sitting on a trunk in *Satire* 2 as Philomela.⁶¹ Fonzio rejects this idea by means of two arguments: on the one hand, he proves that the adjective 'horrida' does not suit Philomela, and on the other hand, he argues that the present tense verb 'facit' makes the identification impossible.⁶² Sometimes Fonzio uses philosophical argumentation, such as in the explanation of the passage in *Satire* 1 that says that the exiled Marius starts drinking in the eighth hour while the gods are angry with him.⁶³ Fonzio explains the latter in this way:

For indeed a god sometimes grants these goods and pleasures for a short time even to those people whom he is angry with, and on the contrary: whom a god is friendly with, lets him also worry about the inconveniences of life. Thus even the bad and the guilty, whom a deity is angry with, can indulge themselves.⁶⁴

Certain explanations are much longer, sometimes even occupying more than a full page. These interpretations are very complex, and sometimes Fonzio wanders far from the subject, just like he does in the interpretation of lines 81–86 of *Satire* 1, where he analyzes the last lines of Virgil's *Eclogue* 4 over nearly a full page. Of course, on other occasions Fonzio stays on topic: the longest annotation discusses a passage of *Satire* 2 where Juvenal talks about an adulterer who was defiled by a fatal union.⁶⁵ Giorgio Valla states that the adulterer is Claudius and supports that statement with three elements of the passage: the mention of the abortifacients, the parts of the fetuses resembling the mother's uncle, and the revived bitter laws. Fonzio perfectly proves that these three expressions do not refer to Claudius but Domitian, and in order to prove his opinion he quotes Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Martial.

In his various argumentations, Fonzio mainly concentrates on the facts and uses historical and biographical data, etymologies, and ancient citations to refute false views, staying far away from allegorical interpretations. His explanations show a wide knowledge of antiquity, and probably

⁶¹ Juvenal 2, 57.

⁶² The explanation can be found on fol. 21 r.

⁶³ Juvenal 1, 49–50.

⁶⁴ Fols. 14v–15r: 'Etenim deus et cui iratus est quandoque temporalia haec bona et quaecunque voluptuosa permittit, et contra cui amicus est, omnibus vitae huius incommodis angi sinit. Unde etiam nocentes et mali irato deo sibi indulgent'.

⁶⁵ Juvenal 2, 29–33. The explanation begins on the *verso* of fol. 19 and ends on the *verso* of fol. 20.

he was helped by his aforementioned compilations of ancient topics.⁶⁶ Generally, for the *Annotationes* on Juvenal the same is true as for his commentary on Persius: 'it is essentially philological criticism rather than interpretation in a wider aesthetic sense'.⁶⁷

Examining the achievements of Fonzio, I have compared his views with the two most recent full commentaries on Juvenal,⁶⁸ as well as the translation and notes of the Loeb Classical Library edition.⁶⁹ There are seventy-one interpretations in the *Annotationes* that can be analyzed in this way. In forty-eight instances Fonzio's opinion agrees with the modern views, in ten more cases they are partly the same, and on only eleven occasions do the modern opinions differ from those of Fonzio.

Since the confutation of the views of other commentators is even more important for Fonzio than the explanation of the problematic passages, the success rate of his refutations is remarkable. There are only two passages of the aforementioned seventy-one where the commentaries or Ramsay's translation accepts the opinions that Fonzio rejected. On fol. 29v, Fonzio criticizes Giorgio Valla because he understood the subject of the expression 'planta magna' (3, 247) as a collective noun, the feet of the people, while Fonzio explains the 'planta magna' as the long and wide foot of an armed soldier.⁷⁰ However, Courtney and Ferguson give the same interpretation as Giorgio Valla,⁷¹ and Ramsay also uses the plural 'feet'.⁷² Concerning line 72 of *Satire* 5, Fonzio argues that the 'artocopi' dative belongs to the expression 'salva sit reverentia' and not 'artoptae', accepted by Giorgio Valla.⁷³ In addition to both of the aforementioned commentaries and the

⁶⁶ See n. 7. above.

⁶⁷ Trinkaus, "The Unknown Quattrocento Poetics" 51.

⁶⁸ Courtney E., *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London: 1980). Ferguson J., *Juvenal: The Satires* (New York: 1982).

⁶⁹ *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. G.G. Ramsay (London – Cambridge: 1961).

⁷⁰ Fol. 29v: 'Valla magnam plantam pro pedibus multorum capit ignarus magnam plantam non ad numerum, sed ad armatae plantae militis latitudinem magnitudinemque referri.' 'Valla understands the "great sole" as the feet of the mob, not knowing that the "great sole" does not refer to the number, but to the width and the size of the sole of an armoured soldier'.

⁷¹ Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* 187: 'PLANTA is collective'; Ferguson, *Juvenal: The Satires* 152: 'sing. for pl., but it's as if the crowd has a collective foot'.

⁷² *Juvenal and Persius* 51.

⁷³ Fol. 33v: 'Non "artocopi" idem Valla sed "artoptae" legit [...] artopta cum sit artocopi vas [...] artocopus vero pistor sit, longe maior est artocopi reverentia quam artoptae' – 'The same Valla reads "artoptae" (to the bread pan) instead of "artocopi" (to the baker) [...] since the "artopta" is the pan of the "artocopus" [...] while the "artocopus" is the baker, the reverence much more belongs to the "artocopus" (baker) rather than to the "artopta" (bread pan)'.

Loeb edition,⁷⁴ Clausen's edition from Oxford also contains 'artoptae' in this line.⁷⁵ However, the misunderstanding of 'planta magna' and the different variant in 5, 72 can be considered negligible compared with the other sixty-nine refutations supported by the modern interpretations. Thus, regarding the criticism of his contemporaries, Fonzio's work is almost perfect in the light of modern views.

Fonzio's *Annotationes in Iuvenalem* is a forgotten achievement of the rising interest in Juvenal at the end of the 15th century. The rivalry between the scholars dealing with Juvenal was a strong incentive for the author to write down his views on the satirist's problematic passages, as was the aforementioned desire for the exhibition of his own erudition, which is exposed in his various explanations. In his polemical work, Fonzio takes a critical stance against the commentaries on Juvenal that had been published earlier, and he successfully refutes the views of Giorgio Valla, Merula, Calderini, and other humanists on almost every occasion. Unlike their commentaries, Fonzio's work has never been published, in spite of the fact that the majority of his explanations correspond to the modern views on these passages. The new edition of the *Annotationes in Iuvenalem* will be completed soon, and in this way Bartolomeo Fonzio can take his deserved place in the history of research on Juvenal.

⁷⁴ Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* 239; Ferguson, *Juvenal: The Satires* 177–178; *Juvenal and Persius* 74.

⁷⁵ *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae*, ed. W.V. Clausen (Oxford: 1959).

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COMMENTING ON CLAUDIAN'S 'POLITICAL POEMS', 1612/1650¹

Valéry Berlincourt

SUMMARY

The prolific Neo-Latin scholar and poet Caspar von Barth (1587–1658) wrote scholarly commentaries on many Latin authors, among them Claudian (ca. AD 370–404), whose “political poems” dealt with contemporary events of great significance for the court of the Western Roman Empire in an age of conflicts and usurpers. Comparing Barth’s early commentary on this poet (1612) and his later, much more voluminous work (1650) allows us to see how his approach changed over the years, both in his exegetical techniques and in his way of reading Claudian.

In the second commentary, written in the midst of the Thirty Years’ War, Barth is little concerned with relating the historical contents of Claudian’s poems to the events of his own day. On the other hand, the later commentary is clearly different from the first in other regards. This is particularly the case in relation to its “intertextual landscape”. The commentary published in 1650 mentions and quotes many more texts, and it greatly expands their chronological and cultural range. In addition, changes occur in the use of such mentions and quotations with regard to poetics, and to *imitatio* in particular. The later commentary is much more sensitive than the first to “systemic” connections, that is, to Claudian’s recurring “imitations” of certain texts.

1. *Introduction*

The late-antique poet Claudius Claudianus, who seems to have been born around 370 and is presumed to have died in 404 or soon afterwards, composed numerous and varied works, among them so-called ‘political poems’. These poems feature prominent persons and events of the Roman

¹ I am grateful to participants in the congress whose remarks helped me improve my argument, notably Jean-Louis Charlet, Karl Enenkel and Harm-Jan van Dam, and to Michael Dewar, who was so kind as to read and to offer comments on my text. I am also indebted to the Swiss National Science Foundation, which funded my participation in the congress as a contribution in the team research project *Latin Poetry: Studies in Intertextuality* directed by Damien Nélis at the University of Geneva. With a view to the thematic unity of the present volume, this written version gives more space than the oral presentation to the discussion of exegetical re-elaboration between Barth’s commentaries of 1612 and 1650.

empire in Claudian's times, that is, under the rule of Theodosius (379–395) and then of his two sons, Honorius in the West and Arcadius in the East. After the death of Theodosius in the year 395, Claudian aligned himself in particular with the political positions of Stilicho, the powerful half-Vandal *magister militum* who acted as the regent of the young Honorius and aspired to control the two halves of the empire. The 'political poems', each several hundred lines long, addressed various levels of audience, notably the elite circles who attended the oral delivery and those men of letters who later had access to the poems when they were circulated in writing.² They re-used in sophisticated ways much of the Greek and Latin literary traditions, especially those of epic, panegyric and invective, in an innovative mix.³

Claudian's poems were very popular in the Renaissance and later on, as they had been in the Middle Ages.⁴ Judgement on them often combined praise of their poetic quality and blame for their contents, as in J.C. Scaliger's assessment.⁵ These poems incited several commentaries.⁶

² See Charlet J.-L., "Claudien et son public", in Harich-Schwarzbauer H. – Schierl P. (eds.), *Lateinische Poesie der Spätantike: internationale Tagung in Castelen bei Augst, 11.–13. Oktober 2007* (Basel: 2009) 1–10. Cf. Gillett A., "Epic Panegyric and Political Communication in the Fifth-Century West", in Grig L. – Kelly G. (eds.), *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: 2012) 265–290 on the pattern of communication distinctive of late-antique epic panegyric.

³ On Claudian and epic panegyric, see notably Schindler C., "Tradition, Transformation, Innovation: Claudians Panegyriken und das Epos", in Ehlers W.-W. – Felgentreu F. – Wheeler S. (eds.), *Aetas Claudianea: eine Tagung an der Freien Universität Berlin vom 28. bis 30. Juni 2002* (Munich – Leipzig: 2004) 16–37, Schindler C., *Per carmina laudes: Untersuchungen zur spätantiken Verspanegyrik von Claudian bis Coripp* (Berlin – New York: 2009) 59–172, and Gillett, "Epic Panegyric and Political Communication in the Fifth-Century West". On the panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus*, with which I am concerned in this paper, cf. Wheeler S., "More Roman than the Romans of Rome: Virgilian (Self-) fashioning in Claudian's *Panegyric for the Consuls Olybrius and Probinus*", in Scourfield J. (ed.), *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity: Inheritance, Authority, and Change* (Swansea: 2007) 97–133 (99–104 in particular).

⁴ On the reception of Claudian, see Felgentreu F., "Claudian (Claudius Claudianus)", in Walde C. (ed.), *Die Rezeption der antiken Literatur: Kulturhistorisches Werklexikon, Der Neue Pauly* Supplement 7 (Stuttgart – Weimar: 2010) 253–262; Fuhrmann M., "Claudian in der Neuzeit: Geschmackswandel und Übergang von der rhetorischen zur philologischen Betrachtungsweise", in Ehlers W.-W. – Felgentreu F. – Wheeler S. (eds.), *Aetas Claudianea: eine Tagung an der Freien Universität Berlin vom 28. bis 30. Juni 2002* (Munich – Leipzig: 2004) 207–223; Reinhart M., "Text and Simultext: Borrowing Claudian in Seventeenth-Century Germany (a Case from the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*)", *German Life and Letters* 52,3 (1999) 281–296.

⁵ Scaliger Julius Caesar, *Poetices libri septem* (Lyons, Antonius Vincentius: 1561), book 6, chapter 5, 321 b D, on which see Fuhrmann, "Claudian in der Neuzeit" 214–216.

⁶ Besides those by Barth discussed in this paper, the most important commentaries include those by Delrio (1572), Claverius (1602), N. Heinsius (1650 and 1665, *cum notis*

In the 17th century they attracted the attention of Caspar von Barth (1587–1658), a prolific Neo-Latin poet and scholar who lived in Saxony, in the region of Halle and Leipzig, for most of his life – including the Thirty Years' War.⁷ While Barth's poetic output ranged from satirical epigram to spiritual meditation, his scholarly endeavours were mainly of an exegetical kind. In addition to his huge *Adversaria* (1624),⁸ he commented upon various authors, late-antique and Christian, but also classical and medieval. His work on Claudian is a special case. In fact, Barth published two different commentaries on this poet, first in 1612 and then, almost forty years later, in 1650 – though the manuscript of the latter was already finished in the early 1640's.⁹

What I intend to offer here is a comparative study of Barth's two commentaries on Claudian, focusing on how they attest an evolution in his exegetical practice and way of reading. Among the various aspects examined for that purpose, I will be concerned in particular with those other texts that Barth mentioned and quoted when commenting on Claudian; my preliminary discussion of this topic is related to a more general research project dedicated to intertextuality in Claudian's poetry.¹⁰ In order to put some observations in a broader perspective, I will also rely

variorum), J.M. Gesner (1759), Burmann (1760, *cum notis variorum*); cf. Birt T., *Claudii Claudiani carmina* (Berlin: 1892) CXCIX-CC and Charlet J.-L., *Claudian: Œuvres* (Paris: 1991–) I LXI–LXX.

⁷ On Barth's scholarly works, see notably Hoffmeister J., *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* (Heidelberg: 1931), Wolff E., "Les *Adversaria* de Caspar von Barth (1587–1658): histoire, dessein et influence de l'oeuvre", *Latomus* 56 (1997) 40–53. Wolff E., "Barth (Caspar von) (1587–1658)", in Nativel C. (ed.), *Centuria latinae II: cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières: à la mémoire de Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie* (Genève: 2006) 57–60, and Berlincourt V., *Commenter la Thébaïde* (16^e–19^e s.): *Caspar von Barth et la tradition exégétique de Stace* (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 114–140. His scholarly and literary works are catalogued (sometimes imprecisely, cf. n. 13) in Dünnhaupt G., *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*, 6 vols. (Stuttgart: 1990–1993) I 401–421 (hereafter Dünnhaupt).

⁸ Barth Caspar von, *Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX* (Frankfurt a. M., Wechel: 1624); full reference in Dünnhaupt I 412 n° 28.1, and complete title (almost one hundred words!) in Hoffmeister, *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* 30, who discusses its programmatic value, and Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 671.

⁹ Barth declares that the commentary on Claudian is finished, and asks his friend to have it published, in his letters dated 04.03.1643 (Daum's copy: Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau LXXV, 13.30) and 12.05.1643 (13.34); on Barth's letters to Daum, see Mahnke L., *Epistolae ad Daumium: Katalog der Briefe an den Zwickauer Rektor Christian Daum (1612–1687)* (Wiesbaden: 2003) 3–7. Clemen O., "Handschriften und Bücher aus dem Besitze Kaspar v. Barths in der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek", *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 38 (1921) 267–289, 275 in particular (based on Barth's correspondence) discusses the fact that the autograph commentary is already at the printer's in 1648.

¹⁰ Cf. n. 1.

on the systematic analysis that I have offered elsewhere of Barth's commentary on Statius, which was published posthumously in 1664–1665 by his friend Christian Daum, but was already finished, like the second *Claudian*, before the mid-1640's.¹¹ The parallel is especially relevant since the *Statius* and the second *Claudian* are connected to each other in various ways and are comparable with regard to size and ambition; in addition, Barth is much interested in the relationship between Statius and Claudian. I have chosen as my main sample the first of the 'political poems', that is, the panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus* (395).¹²

2. External Description

The books Barth published in 1612 and in 1650 deserve to be considered, not as successive editions of one and the same commentary, but as wholly different commentaries.¹³

Differences are obvious with regard to scale and density at the most general level.¹⁴

The size of the book of 1612,¹⁵ dedicated to Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel,¹⁶ is modest, 490 pages, about 168'000 words.¹⁷ The commentary has an average density of fewer than twenty words per line of Claudian's text. In its inner title page, it is described as the preliminary harvest for a proper commentary, 'iusti commentarii praemetium'.¹⁸ In some regards,

¹¹ Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 114–140 and *passim* (120–122 on the dating of the *Statius*).

¹² On this poem, see Taegert W. (ed.), *Claudius Claudianus: Panegyricus dictus Olybrio et Probino consulibus: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (München: 1988) (hereafter Taegert).

¹³ Dünnhaupt I 406 n° 12 misleadingly mentions the book of 1650 among the 'weitere Drucke' of that of 1612, and Birt, *Claudii Claudiani carmina* CC does not stress the difference between them. Hoffmeister, *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* 24 says that the second *Claudian* is 'verbessert und erweitert auf mehr als tausend Seiten Anmerkungen'.

¹⁴ The figures provided here are summarized in the lower row of the table on p. 132 below.

¹⁵ [title-page:] CLAVDI | CLAVDIANI | Poetae praegloriosissimi | QVAE EXSTANT. | CASPAR BARTHIVS | RECENSUIT | ET | Animaduersionum librum | ADIECIT. || HANOVIAE. | In Bibliopolio Willieriano. | M DC XII. [title-page of part 2 (*Animadversiones*):] CASP. BARTH | AD | CL. CLAVDIANI | QVAE EXSTANT, | Animaduersiones. | JUSTI COMMENTARII | praemetium. | ANNO | M DC XII. (hereafter Barth 1612).

¹⁶ Barth 1612, dedicatory epistle, fol. *2r–5r. The epistle notably insists on the moral value of the poems, as will be seen on p. 138 below.

¹⁷ My word-count for Barth's commentaries is based on a rough estimate of the maximal number of words per page; it therefore slightly exceeds the actual word-count.

¹⁸ See n. 15.

it truly is no more than a sketch aimed at displaying which mature fruits the promising young man would be able to produce in future years – a familiar situation in the classical scholarship of this period.¹⁹ This point is amply developed in the preface to the commentary;²⁰ in particular, Barth describes the difficult circumstances under which he had to finish preparing it (when he revised it he had no access to his preparatory material and was very often interrupted by other tasks),²¹ and he expressly declares his intention to dedicate later a new commentary to Claudian.²²

The second commentary,²³ dedicated to Queen Christina,²⁴ is much more extended than the first: 1271 pages in two columns and small font (a typographic decision much deplored by Barth),²⁵ about 670'000 words. The average density of the commentary is about seventy words per line of Claudian's text – about four times greater than the density of the first *Claudian* (but still somewhat less than that of the *Statius*). In the preface to

¹⁹ Compare for example the sketchy commentary on Statius's *Thebaid* that the young John Barclay (1582–1621) published in 1601, on which see Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 74–80.

²⁰ Barth 1612, part 2 (*Animadversiones*), preface “Amico lectori”, fol. ¶2r–8v. The preface also expressly banishes large digressions, cf. n. 31.

²¹ Barth 1612, part 2 (*Animadversiones*), preface “Amico lectori”, fol. ¶5r–6v.

²² Barth 1612, part 2 (*Animadversiones*), preface “Amico lectori”, fol. ¶6v: ‘Veniet deinde aetas iudicio maturior, quae iustis et legitimis Commentariis has Notas expunget. Interim tenerrimae iuventuti conatum hunc tanti Auctoris post cunctationes tot eruditissimorum hominum, illustrandi, ignoscent aequi iudices. Et ita ignoscent, ut ipsorum candor ad alia et maioris pretii et operae diligentioris publico danda nos incitare possit. [...]’

²³ [engraved title-page:] CLAVDII | CLAVDIANI | SCRIPTORIS PRAEGLORIOSISSIMI | quae Exstant | CASPAR BARTHIVS | S.R. IMP. EQVES EX X | Amplius libris Manu | scriptis | Emendavit et Animaduer[sionibus longe locupletio]ribus illustravit | IMPENSIS | IOHANNIS NAVMANNI | Bibliopolae Hamburgensis | 1650. – [title-page:] CL. | CLAUDIANI, | PRINCIPUM, HE-|ROUMQUE POETAE | Praeclariorissimi, Quae exstant, | CASPAR BARTHIUS OPE SE-|PTEMDECIM MANUSCRIPTO-|rum Exemplarium restituit: | COMMENTARIO MVLTIO LOCUPLE-|tiore, Grammatico, Critico, Philologo, Historico, Philosophico, | Politicoque, ita illustravit: VT AVCTOR PRETIOSISSIMVS OMNI AETATI, | Scholasticae, Academiae, Aulicae, Politicaeque, esse debeat ex com-|mendato commendatissimus. || FRANCOFVRTI, | Apud JOANNEM NAUMANNUM, Bibliop. Hamburgensem. | ANNO M DC L. (hereafter Barth 1650).

²⁴ Barth 1650, dedicatory epistle, fol. ar–2r. Queen Christina is also the addressee of a laudatory poem (another laudatory poem is addressed to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie). The epistle notably emphasizes the moral value of Claudian's poems, as will be seen on p. 138 below.

²⁵ Barth's complaints about the layout of the second *Claudian* are expressed notably in his letters to Daum (cf. n. 9) dated 11.04.1650 (Daum's copy: Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau LXXV, 13.170) and 28.05.1650 (13.171); Clemen, “Handschriften und Bücher aus dem Besitze Kaspar v. Barths in der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek” 275 mentions and quotes the second letter, but not the first.

the commentary,²⁶ Barth reminds the reader about the task he undertook in 1612 when Claudian's text still was in a poor condition, and he stresses that he has had access to many additional sources in the meantime.²⁷

The difference in exegetical density may be illustrated by the number of lemmata and words that each commentary dedicates to the first 28 lines of the panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus* (apostrophe to the Sun that opens the new year, and praise of the family of the young consuls).

	Barth 1612	Barth 1650	Del Rio 1572	Heinsius 1665	(La Cerda 1612)
lemmata	12	45	5	9	(40)
words	ca. 1600	ca. 6300	210	924	(ca. 4400)

The density of the first commentary is comparable to that of standard commentaries on classical texts.²⁸ It is much higher than that of Delrio's notes on Claudian (1572),²⁹ but rather close to that of N. Heinsius's notes (in the edition of 1665),³⁰ especially with regard to the number of lemmata. Much more striking, however, is the extremely high density of Barth's second commentary, whether in number of lemmata or in word-count. With the *Claudian* he publishes in 1650, Barth obviously leaves the standard format. Its huge size (and its often digressive nature) is remarked by contemporaries, who often blame the German scholar for it – and praise in contrast the brevity of Heinsius's notes.³¹ Barth's later

²⁶ Barth 1650, preface "Amico lectori", fol. fir–2v. Like the dedicatory epistle, the preface stresses the moral value of the poems amongst other things, as will be seen on p. 138 below.

²⁷ Barth 1650, preface "Amico lectori", fol. fir–2r, discussed on p. 136 and n. 45 below.

²⁸ As far as word-count is concerned, the figures in my table somewhat exaggerate the difference between Barth's commentaries (rough estimate, cf. n. 17) and those by Delrio and Heinsius (precise word-count).

²⁹ Delrio Martinus Antonius, *Ad Cl. Claudiani V.C. opera [...] notae* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin: 1572).

³⁰ Heinsius Nicolaus, *Cl. Claudiani Quae exstant [...] Recensuit ac notas addidit, post primam editionem altera fere parte nunc auctiores, Accedunt selecta Variorum commentaria, accurante C.S.M.D.* (Amsterdam, Elsevier: 1665). Heinsius's notes in the first edition, *Cl. Claudiani quae exstant Nic. H. Dan. f. recensuit ac notas addidit, Accedunt quaedam inedita* (Leiden, Elsevier: 1650), are less extensive.

³¹ Some reactions to Barth's second *Claudian* are quoted and discussed in Berlincourt V., "In pondere non magno satis ponderosae...": Gronovius and the Printed Tradition of the *Thebaid*", in Smolenaars J.J.L. – Dam H.-J. van – Nauta R.R. (eds.), *The Poetry of Statius*

commentary on Claudian is somewhat similar in density to the commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* by La Cerda (1612–1617).³²

If general differences between Barth's commentaries of 1612 and 1650 are evident, with the second being about four times more expansive than the first, further differences are visible at the level of the individual poems, as results from the following table.

The *order* of Claudian's poems in the commentary of 1612 – presented in the main part of my table, on the left – is close to the practice of our editions: all larger 'political poems' are grouped together and arranged chronologically; they are followed by the mythological epic *The rape of Proserpine*, and then by the numerous poems, most of them very short, that we are accustomed to call the *carmina minora*. In his introduction to the first poem, the panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus*, Barth declares that he has followed Delrio in choosing the chronological order, but that this order is imperfect and confused. The arrangement in the commentary of 1650 – column furthest to the right in my table – is quite

(Leiden: 2008) 1–18, 2–6 in particular (cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 122 and n. 339 for the dating of the *Statius*) and Berlincourt V., "Going Beyond the Author": Caspar von Barth's Observations on the Art of Commentary-Writing and his Use of Exegetical Digressions", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Nellen H. (eds.), *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400–1700)* (Leuven: 2013) 263–292, 263–264 in particular; compare Pierre Bayle's criticism of Barth's scholarly works, discussed in Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 117 and 137–140. In addition to size and digression, criticisms addressed to the second *Claudian* bear on the inferior quality of its text compared to that of Heinsius and on the lack of indices (see Hoffmeister, *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* 24–25, and cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 134 for the reproaches expressed by Bayle on the latter point). With regard to digressions, it should be stressed that Barth expressly banished them from his earlier commentary on Claudian, as declared in part 2 (*Animadversiones*), preface "Amico lectori", fol. ¶15v: 'Porro in ipsis his Notis nihil quaesivimus, nisi ut Poeta illustraretur, pompam excursionum, nisi in paucis locis, animo ad perpetuum laborem nauseabundo, vitavimus de industria. Poeticas locutiones, figuras, rituum, Philosophiae Moralis et Politicae iudicia strictim explicavimus'. The digressive nature of Barth's *Statius* is discussed at length in Berlincourt, "Going Beyond the Author".

³² La Cerda Juan Luis de, *P. Virgilii Maronis [...] libri Aeneidos argumentis, explicationibus, notis illustrati*... (Lyons, Horace Cardon: 1612, 1617). On this commentary, see notably Casali S., "Agudezas virgiliane nel commento all'Eneide di Juan Luis de La Cerda", in Santini C. – Stok F. (eds.), *Esegesi dimenticate di autori classici* (Pisa: 2008) 233–261, with bibliography. The figures in my table refer to La Cerda's lemmatized 'Notae' on *Aeneid* 1.1–28 (numbered 1.5–32 in his book). The 'Notae' on these lines are numbered sequentially from '7' to '20' for the first section of Virgil's text (lines 1.1–7 [1.5–11]) and from '1' to '26' for the second (lines 1.8–28 [1.12–32]). Not included in my table are the two other registers that La Cerda offers before the lemmatized 'Notae' for each section of text: a very brief 'Argumentum', and a rather ample, unlemmatized 'Explicatio'. My word-count for La Cerda's *Virgil* is based, like that for Barth's commentaries (cf. n. 17), on a rough estimate that slightly exceeds the actual word-count.

order 1612	pages		words		words/line		ratio	order 1650
	1612	1650	1612	1650	1612	1650		
[1] Ol.Prob.	18	59	6'174	31'152	22.13	111.66	5.0	[1] Ol.Prob.
[17] Ruf.	50	99	17'150	52'272	18.01	54.91	3.0	[2] Manl.
[8] 3.Hon.	21	68	7'203	35'904	31.45	156.79	5.0	[3] Stil.
[9] 4.Hon.	65	191	22'295	100'848	33.99	153.73	4.5	[4] Get. ("Stil.4")
[11] Fesc.	11	29	3'773	15'312	27.95	113.42	4.1	[5] Gild.
[12] Nupt.	30	55	10'290	29'040	28.35	80.00	2.8	[6] Ser.
[5] Gild.	38	78	13'034	41'184	24.78	78.30	3.2	[7] <i>Pall.Cel.</i>
[2] Manl.	19	122	6'517	64'416	18.10	178.93	9.9	[8] 3.Hon.
[18] Eutr.	53	100	18'179	52'800	15.26	44.33	2.9	[9] 4.Hon.
[3] Stil.	29	120	9'947	63'360	7.93	50.53	6.4	[10] 6.Hon.
[4] Get.	34	56	11'662	29'568	17.54	44.46	2.5	[11] Fesc.
[10] 6.Hon.	15	41	5'145	21'648	7.50	31.56	4.2	[12] Nupt.
[13] <i>rapt.</i>	63	89	21'609	46'992	18.44	40.10	2.2	[13] <i>rapt.</i>
[6] <i>Ser</i>	6	13	2'058	6'864	8.72	29.08	3.3	[14] <i>Gig.</i>
[7] <i>Pall.Cel.</i>	4	16	1'372	8'448	8.97	55.22	6.2	[15] <i>epist.</i>
[14] <i>Gig.</i>	2	11	686	5'808	5.36	45.38	8.5	[16] <i>epigr.</i>
[15] <i>epist.</i>	4	22	1'372	11'616	8.07	68.33	8.5	[17] Ruf.
[16] <i>epigr.</i>	28	102	9'604	53'856	12.91	72.39	5.6	[18] Eutr.
carm. mai.	383	1018	131'369	537'504	18.01	73.67	4.1	
Claudian	490	1271	168'070	671'088	16.98	67.79	4.0	

Claudian's 'political poems' are in Roman, other poems in italics.

different: the poems are grouped together according to mainly thematic and generic criteria; the first group contains poems of praise in a broad sense (and makes a distinction between the poems that are directly related to the imperial court and those that are not), including not only most of the larger 'political poems', but also two of the *carmina minora*;³³ this group is followed by *The rape of Proserpine*, and then by the remaining *carmina minora*; another noteworthy feature is the final position of the invectives, which are set apart from the other larger 'political poems'. The paratext explicitly justifies this arrangement by means of arguments concerning consistency, which at the same time involve moral considerations.³⁴

³³ The inclusion in this group of the *Laus Serenae* may easily be justified by its length (236 lines).

³⁴ Barth 1650, 'Series Operis', fol. a3r: 'ORDINE hoc Libros locavimus, ut Heroum Encomia, Prior pars Poematum Claudiani, priorem locum obtineret, nobilius quippe ista officium Poeseos functa est, quae propositis commendatisque exemplis vocat ad imitationem Posteris. Huic iunximus Libros de Raptu, Poematiacque caetera, eiusdem potissima ex

Further differences are obvious at the level of individual poems. In both books, exegetical density is highly uneven, as can be seen from the average number of words of commentary per line of Claudian's text.³⁵ The panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus* attracts much attention in both commentaries, which makes it a reliable basis for my discussions in the next section of this paper. In some other cases the first book offers no more than a draft: on average, fewer than ten words are dedicated to each line of the poems *On Stilicho's consulship* (400) and *On the sixth consulship of Honorius* (404). The scarcity of the notes on *On Stilicho's consulship* is expressly justified in the introduction to *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus*: the political notes that Barth has written on this work are so extensive that their inclusion here would have doubled the size of the whole commentary; he has therefore decided to offer instead only a few notes concerned mainly with *emendatio*.³⁶

The second book gives much more space to all the poems – although Barth says, in his new introduction to *On Stilicho's consulship*, that he still has more in store than what he includes in the book.³⁷ What strikes the reader here is rather the extremely high density of the commentary for poems such as the panegyrics *For the consul Manlius Theodorus* (399), and *On the third* and *On the fourth consulships of Honorius* (396, 398). In the case of *On the third* and *On the fourth consulships of Honorius*, this is due to the even expansion of the commentary (proliferation of lemmata and high average length of the notes). In the case of *For the consul Manlius Theodorus*, on the other hand, the high exegetical density results, in large part, from two extensive notes, the second of which is extraordinarily digressive:³⁸ *ad* 99 *vincat ratione metus* Barth dedicates a five-page long discussion to the

parte materiae, certe horum referenda potius quam aliorum. Posterior Tomus habeat Vituperia maleficorum hominum, quos ideo persequitur vates, dirisque et Satirico sale devovet exagitatque, ut absterreat paribus ausis humanum genus; cuius quidem admonitionem instructionemque proficitur utrimque'.

³⁵ Cf. n. 17.

³⁶ Barth 1612, part 2 (*Animadversiones*), 4: 'Stiliconis autem illos Laudatores libros in his Animadversionibus parcius attigimus, quod peculiariter eos Commentariis Politicis enarraverimus, qui tales reapse sunt, ut altero tanto maiorem fecissent adiecti Animadversionum hunc acervum. Ideoque intactos eos sivimus, nisi qua poscebat emendatio, aut alioqui novum quid manum scribentis succedebat'. No similar justification is provided in the introduction to *On Stilicho's consulship*.

³⁷ Barth 1650, 182: 'Bonam partem Lectionis nostrae ad Principum Sapientiam pertinentis Commentariis in hos Libros inmisimus. Animadversiones nunc istas inde excerptimus, strictim libatis quae necessaria Auctori visa. Caeterum Commentarium peculiari volumine dabimus, toto isto opere etiam ampliorem'. Cf. n. 36.

³⁸ Cf. n. 31.

philosophical idea that fear may be overcome by reason; and *ad* 128 *deprendit* he produces a fifteen-page long (!) dissertation about Egypt as a tribute to Claudian's origins.³⁹

3. *Stability and Innovation*

General

In addition to the external features presented above, Barth's two commentaries on Claudian also, and more interestingly, differ with regard to their contents.

The commentary on the opening of the panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus* already offers an excellent opportunity to observe the changes that take place between the books published in 1612 and in 1650. Claudian invokes the Sun and invites him to shed a peculiarly propitious light on the first day of the new year marked by the exceptional consulship of two *privati* brothers:

Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus habenis
volvis inexhausto redeuntia saecula motu [...]

In the earlier commentary, the first line is discussed in a single complex note (230 words), lemmatized *Sol*, which tackles three subjects: (1) the Sun as the source and king of time, as the *auctor* of day and of heavenly harmony; (2) *mundus* as an equivalent of τὸ πᾶν; (3) *ambire*, *circumire*, and *continere* too, as synonyms for *complecti*.

In the later commentary, Barth dedicates *six* notes to Claudian's opening line (about 1500 words in total), of which three discuss at greater length the subjects already addressed in the earlier commentary. The first two notes, both lemmatized *Sol qui*, mainly offer information that was absent in 1612. One of them is concerned with the use of the invocation to the Sun in the context of praise to the emperor, with reference to lines 23–25 of Statius's *Silva* 4.1 – a short panegyric on the seventeenth consulship of the emperor Domitian –, and with the belief that the brightness of the sky was a measure of divine favour, paralleled in the panegyrics *On the fourth consulship of Honorius* and *On Stilicho's consulship*; it also observes that in

³⁹ For a recent discussion of Claudian's Egyptian origins, see Mulligan B., "The Poet from Egypt?: Reconsidering Claudian's Eastern Origin", *Philologus* 151 (2007) 285–310.

this passage, as in other texts of the same period, the Sun is conceived of as the equivalent of the greatest gods. The second of the first two notes quotes an echo in Venantius Fortunatus and stresses how much this poet, and Sidonius Apollinaris and Ennodius of Pavia too, borrowed from Claudian. The third note, lemmatized *Sol*, develops questions close to the first part of the note in the earlier commentary: equivalence between the Sun and the greatest gods (as Barth has already said in the first note lemmatized *Sol qui*); adoration of the Sun in ancient and contemporary cultures; the Sun as the origin of time and the king of stars, as the *auctor* of day and celestial harmony, and similar ideas. The fourth note, lemmatized *flammiferis*, gives text-critical and lexical information that was absent in 1612. The fifth note, lemmatized *mundum*, explains the meaning of that word, and thus corresponds to the second part of the note in the earlier commentary. The sixth note, lemmatized *mundum complexus*, develops the lexical considerations that were sketched in the final part of the note of 1612.

Most of the discussions in the later commentary are much more extensive than their earlier counterparts.⁴⁰ Moreover, while almost all the texts Barth mentioned or quoted in 1612 feature again in 1650, many others are added, among which a good number of Christian, late-antique and Byzantine texts – a significant change, to which I will return in a moment.⁴¹

As we have just seen, Barth's commentary on the first line of the poem adds a discussion about *emendatio*. Textual criticism is one of the fields where evolution in his practice is obvious. In 1612 critical discussions were already present, to be sure; they even represented the main component of

⁴⁰ While the first and third parts of the note of 1612 are only nine and twelve lines long, the corresponding notes of 1650 cover, respectively, almost a whole page and more than one page (in a smaller font, cf. p. 129 above). The second part of the note of 1612, too, is somewhat expanded in the corresponding note of 1650.

⁴¹ While the first part of the note of 1612 only referred to Martianus Capella (twice), Proclus and Julian the Apostate, the third note of 1650 contains references to Ausonius, Cicero, Ptolemy, Hermes Trismegistus, the *Book of the Wisdom of Solomon*, Martianus Capella, Proclus, 'Orpheus', Homer, Julian the Apostate, Vettius Valens, Proclus (*iterum*), Martianus Capella (*iterum*), Plutarchus, Zacharias Mitylenaeus (cf. the corresponding part of the first note lemmatized *Sol qui*, which refers to Julian the Apostate, Heliodorus, Themistius, Libanius and Zosimus). While the third part of the note of 1612 only referred to Rutilius Namatianus, Nonius Marcellus (about Cicero) and 'Germanicus' [*scil.* Manilius], the sixth note of 1650 contains references to Zacharias Mitylenaeus, Leontius Mechanicus, Statius's *Silva* 1.1 and *Thebaid*, Rutilius Namatianus, Claudian's *On Stilicho's consulship*, Rutilius Namatianus (*iterum*), Petronius, Quintilian, Caesar, Cicero, Phaedrus, Arnobius, Salvianus, Cassiodorus, 'Eucherius sive Eusebius de Gallia' (*scil.* Bruno da Segni), Cicero, 'Germanicus' [*scil.* Manilius], Valerius Flaccus, Lucan, Prosper of Aquitaine.

the notes on the panegyric *On Stilicho's consulship*, in which Barth decided not to address other, more ambitious topics.⁴² Then, however, such discussions only had a limited scope. As stated in the preface, Barth had been able to consult only very few printed books on Claudian, and he had not collated any manuscripts.⁴³ In 1650, *emendatio* is prominent in the detail of the commentary. It also features in the paratext in several ways. On the title-page, Barth boasts of having corrected Claudian's poems with the help of seventeen manuscripts.⁴⁴ In the dedicatory epistle, and above all in the preface, he lays stress on the numerous resources he has at his disposal.⁴⁵ In addition, inside the commentary he recurrently presents *emendatio* as a priority, for instance in the introduction to *In Rufinum* book 2.⁴⁶

As far as the notes of detail are concerned, differences can take several forms. In the case of the first line of the panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus*, the later commentary simply adds a textual discussion; however, other situations occur too. In discussions involving textual criticism – as in other matters – Barth often returns in 1650 to issues he had already tackled, and he assesses his earlier positions, whether to confirm or to discard them.⁴⁷ It also often happens that Barth makes different choices

⁴² See p. 133 and n. 36 above.

⁴³ Barth 1612, part 2 (*Animadversiones*), preface “Amico lectori”, fol. ¶12r–5r: Barth has had access to Parrhasio's commentary (on *The rape of Proserpine*) only after finishing his own, and he wonders whether Camers ever published his notes; he has consulted those by Delrio and mentions them occasionally; he has corrected Raphelengius's edition, and he has based his work on Pulmannus's edition and discussed in his notes the manuscript variants reported in it; he has judged it superfluous to collate manuscripts after Pulmannus's endeavours; he has been unable to use Claverius's edition and notes.

⁴⁴ See n. 23.

⁴⁵ Barth 1650, preface “Amico lectori”, fol. fir–2r: Barth undertook the task of correcting Claudian's text in 1612 when it still was in poor condition; he has examined in the meantime all resources he could to correct it; he has obtained manuscripts, consulted the works of his predecessors and all kinds of ancient texts helpful to that purpose; he has notably made use of Claverius's edition and notes, of a copy of Bentinus's edition filled with the collation of more than fifteen manuscripts by Pulmannus, of two manuscripts that he has collated himself, of the Aldine editions, and of the editions by Camers and others. In the dedicatory epistle, fol. aiv, Barth boasts of his numerous sources in general terms. Taegert 54–55 shows that Barth's account of his manuscripts of Claudian, which has sometimes been challenged, may be trusted (cf. Birt, *Claudii Claudiani carmina* CC); the situation is quite similar for his manuscripts of Statius, cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 122–124.

⁴⁶ Barth 1650, 1188: ‘Eum [scil. poetam] nos collata et examinata veterum Codicum scriptura genuinae suae venustati et splendori nativo redonare pergemus, et obiter quaeque minus obvia lectori enarrabimus’.

⁴⁷ On line 37, for instance, the note of 1612 expressed doubts about the reading *coniunctus* and weighed various solutions, but concluded with a tone of helplessness: ‘Quicquid futurum est, fatemur, nec sanum nobis locum istum videri, nec nos ipsi sanando iam esse.’

without explicitly saying so; remarkable instances are found on line 11, where he reintroduces and justifies in 1650 the bad reading he had rightly rejected in 1612,⁴⁸ and on lines 48–54, where he performs transpositions with regard to the traditional text that he had accepted in his youth.⁴⁹

Historical content is another field where we would expect to see significant differences between the first and the second commentaries. Claudian's subject-matter is a period of crisis; his 'political poems' present a number of historical *exempla*, some positive – such as Theodosius, Honorius and above all Stilicho – some negative – such as Rufinus, the Pretorian prefect (392–395) who was Stilicho's rival for actual power in the East after the death of Theodosius, Eutropius, the eunuch chamberlain who exerted ascendancy over Arcadius after Rufinus and was elevated to the consulship, or Alaric, the king of the Visigoths (395–410) and *magister militum* in Illyricum who sacked Greece and invaded Italy. This subject-matter is likely to arouse scholarly interest in the historical events mirrored in Claudian's poems. It may also have sparked a more personal reaction in a man like Barth, who lived in a world that was undergoing a deep crisis: indeed, the preparation of the second *Claudian*, which would be published two years after the Peace of Westphalia, took place in the midst of the Thirty Years' War.⁵⁰ General considerations apart, the German scholar suffered the evils of the war in Saxony: an eye injury due to the blast of a bomb in early 1637, when Leipzig was under siege, affected him for the rest of his life,⁵¹ and his scholarly activity was hampered by the warlike turmoil surrounding him.⁵² Claudian's poems would therefore seem capable of

Relinquentes felicioribus ingeniis materiam exercendi et exerendi capitalis acuminis'. In 1650 Barth discusses this question at length with different arguments and suggestions.

⁴⁸ In 1612 Barth corrected the traditional reading *pavorem* into *favorem*. In 1650 he accepts *pavorem* without even mentioning *favorem* – and he is blamed accordingly by N. Heinsius.

⁴⁹ In 1612 Barth (*ad* 48) accepted in these lines the traditional sequence, identical to that in our editions. In 1650 he challenges this sequence and rearranges it entirely in his notes. On this vexed passage, see the apparatus criticus in Hall J.B. (ed.), *Claudii Claudiani carmina* (Leipzig: 1985), and Taegert *ad loc.* (who does not discuss Barth's transposition).

⁵⁰ See p. 127 and n. 9 above.

⁵¹ See Clemen, "Handschriften und Bücher aus dem Besitze Kaspar v. Barths in der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek" 274 (the eye injury is erroneously dated from 1636 in Hoffmeister, *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* 9); cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 115 and 121.

⁵² See Barth's note on Statius, *Thebaid* 3.555, quoted in Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 136; cf. 115 and 118 for a reassessment of the fire in Barth's library (1636), which shows that more credit must be given to his account than has often been done.

prompting reflexions about *similitudo temporum* in Barth's second commentary. By comparison, the notes on Statius's mythological epic entitled the *Thebaid*, which Barth composed in roughly the same period, sometimes make explicit connections between the text commented upon and the situation of 17th-century Europe (or other events of the recent past), and, more specifically, between Statius's negative *exempla* and the Holy Roman emperor Ferdinand II.⁵³ In fact, the title-page of the *Claudian* published in 1650 extols the 'political' dimension of the commentary.⁵⁴ However, contrary to expectations, the later commentary is quite similar to the earlier commentary in its approach to historical content.

The introductory paratexts of both books give ample space to the moral value of Claudian's poems in a general sense. In 1612, the dedicatory epistle, which intends to offer a justification for Barth's decision to dedicate this collection of poems to Landgrave Maurice, insists upon the fact that it gathers eminent examples of 'armed virtue' (Stilicho), peaceful arts (Olybrius and Probinus, Manlius Theodorus) and civic wisdom combined with warlike qualities (Theodosius), with peculiar stress on the two latter categories.⁵⁵ In addition, the introductions to the individual poems draw the attention to their edifying worth; for instance, Barth praises the panegyric *On the fourth consulship of Honorius* for its particularly edifying content, and the invective *Against Eutropius* for its acute *sententiae*. In 1650, likewise, the dedicatory epistle to Queen Christina and the preface both emphasize the moral value of the poems and present them as sources of *exempla* to be imitated or avoided; the suggestion of a political reading related to contemporary events is especially strong in the epistle.⁵⁶ Here too, Barth also mentions in various introductions the edifying value of Claudian's works for posterity; he does this already with regard to the panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus* (briefly, as part of an apology), and, for instance, to the panegyric *On the fourth consulship of Honorius* and (at much greater length) the invective *Against Eutropius*. In the *Claudian* of 1650, the effect of moral considerations goes so far as to

⁵³ See notably Barth's notes on Statius, *Thebaid* 1.128 and 11.579, quoted in Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 608–609 and 637. On the dating of the commentary on Statius, cf. p. 128 and n. 11 above.

⁵⁴ See n. 23.

⁵⁵ Barth 1612, dedicatory epistle to Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, fol. *2v–3r in particular.

⁵⁶ Barth 1650, dedicatory epistle to Queen Christina, fol. air–iv in particular; preface "Amico lector", fol. fir.

provoke a complete rearrangement in the order of the poems, as we have seen in the previous section.⁵⁷

While Barth stresses the edifying value of Claudian's poems at a general level, he is not primarily concerned with highlighting it in the text, and even less with explicitly connecting it to the events around him. In this respect too, the later commentary is not significantly different from the earlier one. On the one hand, Barth does not necessarily discuss in the notes of detail the edifying content of the poems. We have already seen that, in 1612 and even in 1650, he chooses not to develop in full the political aspects in the poem *On Stilicho's consulship*, where they are prominent;⁵⁸ and his attitude about the 'outstanding warnings' contained in the panegyric *On the fourth consulship of Honorius* is similar.⁵⁹ Acknowledging the edifying value of a text does not necessarily entail providing it with an edifying commentary.⁶⁰ On the other hand, when Barth *does* comment on political issues, he does not relate them more in the second commentary than in the first to the events of his own day, but sticks to the historical perspective.

A good example of this attitude is found in the case of line 83 of the panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus*, where Claudian uses the expression *triumphata regna* to describe Rome's world rule. Here the commentary of 1612 clarified the notion of *regnum* and adduced quotations aimed at lexical illustration (though with some moral added value).⁶¹ The commentary of 1650 offers a similar note in an expanded form, which stresses somewhat more the political aspects and ranges more broadly

⁵⁷ See pp. 131–132 above.

⁵⁸ See p. 133 and nn. 36 and 37 above.

⁵⁹ Barth 1650, 533: 'Illustrationem instituto modo strictim exsequemur, si enim ex merito omnia velimus commentario adscribere, quae poteramus, monitorumque praestantia videbatur poscere, facile unius huius libri Exegesis caeterorum omnium molem superaverit. Sed de industria vela contraximus, ut ad alia quoque Posteritati eliminanda veniamus'.

⁶⁰ Cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 581, 587 and 592 for similar observations in the exegetical tradition of Statius's *Thebaid*.

⁶¹ Barth 1612 *ad* 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 83 *regnis* 'regnum est cui legitimi tituli Rex praeest; provincia quam regens, appellatur Regio nomine. Sulpicius Severus lib.I. Hist. sacrae. <chronica 1.23.4> Id modo adnotandum curavimus, XX. et IX. regna, Imperio Hebraeorum subiecta. Scilicet quibus singulis suus antea rex praefuerat. Hinc regnum possidere vel mereri, eadem phrasis est ac si dicatur, Regem esse, aut regali honore dignum. Dionysius Cato, quem Octavianum vocant membranae Melioris Goldasti. <disticha 2.1.2> Utilius regno est meritis sibi quaerere amicos. Quod vulgo dicebant: Rex es si hoc facis. Horat. <epistulae 1.1.59> Rex eris aiunt. Hoc Cato dixit utilius regno esse'.

towards late-antique and medieval quotations and medieval customs.⁶² The second *Claudian* also includes for line 83 an additional note where the historicizing perspective (on the subject of the notion of *regnum*) is even more obvious.⁶³ Barth's interest in this perspective is clear elsewhere too, for instance when he discusses historical issues he had not tackled in 1612.⁶⁴ In short, when Barth decides to address the political content of Claudian's panegyric-epic poems, he mainly proposes a historical reconstruction of the past (ancient and also medieval).

The 'Intertextual Landscape' as a Test Case

'Parallel passages' offer a good opportunity to observe the changes that take place in Barth's way of commenting. The two commentaries on Claudian mention or quote many texts from ancient (and other) authors. Admittedly, some references of this kind may have been inspired by printed sources such as earlier commentaries, collections of *variae lectiones* and

⁶² Barth 1650 *ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 83 regnis* 'Imperiis per Habitabilem notumque orbem, magna parte, ut caute Eucherius, sparsis. Regnum legitimi Regis Imperium, quod Regem Regiae sustentet, defendere possit. Sulpitius Severus lib.I. Hist. [*chronica* 1.23.4 cf. n. 61]. *Regnum possidere*, tam esse potentem ut tale Imperium, tantum terrarum opumque possis aequare. Dionysius Cato. [*disticha* 2.1.2 cf. n. 61]. Quomodo *Regem esse* Horatius dixit <*epistulae* 1.1.59> *Rex eris aiunt*. Regno carius, quod summum velut humanae rei votum exscendat. Hilarius Arelatensis [*scil.* Hilarius Pictaviensis (pseudo) vel Cyprianus Gallus (pseudo)] in Martyrio septem Macabaeorum fratrum. [*carmen de martyrio Maccabaeorum, recensio A* 345–346]. Quae omnia Proverbium sapiunt. Romanum vero Imperium Universum etiam non fugit Regni Titulum. Claudianus II. Stilic. [*On Stilicho's consulship* 2.166–167]. Et ea imitatione Imperium etiam Germanicum Gunterus Regnum appellandum censuit, libro V. [Gunter of Pairis, *Ligurinus* 5.222–224]. Regnorum autem legitimorum certa erat dimensio certus splendor reddituum, intra quos nomen illud non constabat. Itaque apud maiores nostros *Ducatus*, suam habebant necessariam dignitati, amplitudinem, Duodecim videlicet Comitatum. Adelmus Monachus in Annalibus Francorum, de Carolo Magno. <*Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 748> *Tassilonem in Ducatum restituit; Domumque reversus, Grifonem, more ducum, duodecim Comitatus donavit*. Sed decrevit iam olim, nec longe post Caroli tempora, hic numerus, donec dignitas aut possidentis honor amplitudinem territorii supplevit. Olim dixi, nam de Friderico primo ita scribit idem Gunterus, lib.V. extremo: [*Ligurinus* 5.566–568].

⁶³ Barth 1650 *ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 83 triumphatis... regnis* 'Regnorum sane communis velut vastities erat Imperium Romanum, in se absorbens omnia, non sine nota ingluviei et avaritiae inexplabilis. Vide Epistolam Regis Mithradatis [sic] ad Regem Arsacem, apud Sallustium, Quarti Historiarum Fragmentis: qui regna subvertere, morem Romanum dicit. [...]'

⁶⁴ E.g. Barth 1650 *ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 72*, a note which rejects the date given by Cassiodorus for the usurpation of Eugenius, observes that Hydatius aligns with Claudian, and also briefly refers the reader to Augustine, Orosius and Zosimus.

the like; however, most of them are the fruit of personal reading. 'Parallel passages' are used in connection with various subjects, such as language, commonplace ideas, history, customs, and poetics. As one would expect, most of them simply serve illustrative purposes, and therefore inform us mainly about the prodigiously broad range of Barth's readings; only few are specifically oriented towards the interpretation of Claudian's poems.

The preliminary study of Barth's 'intertextual landscape' that I offer in the following pages is mainly aimed at showing how the German scholar transforms his early work when composing his new commentary, and how his approach changes in this respect, notably in his way of reading Claudian. Other questions, such as the selection of texts which Barth refers to, will be addressed only cursorily.⁶⁵ Let us simply observe here, in this regard, that the nature of the texts mentioned or quoted is partly determined by the (genre of the) poems commented upon (Barth very often refers to Latin epic authors, especially Virgil, Lucan and Statius), partly by personal and cultural tastes (Barth often refers to Petronius, whom he likes much),⁶⁶ partly by the specific matter discussed in each

⁶⁵ This question is discussed at length – with regard to Barth's scholarly works in general – in Hoffmeister, *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* 25–29, whose main observations may be summarized as follows. In his early commentary on the pseudo-Virgilian *Ciris* (*P. Virgilio Maronis Ceiris, In eam commentariolus* [Amberg, Schönfeld: 1608]; full reference in Dünnhaupt I 403 n° 5), Barth most often quotes Apuleius, Virgil and Horace, and then Lucretius, Ovid, Claudian and Statius; in his *Ablegmīna* (books 1–2 in *Opuscula varia* [Hanau, Thomas de Villiers: 1612], full reference in Dünnhaupt I 405 n° 10; books 3–4 in *Venatici et bucolici poetae latini* [Hanau, Thomas de Villiers: 1613], full reference in Dünnhaupt I 406 n° 13), he also often quotes Plautus, Arnobius, Prudentius, Tertullian, and Cyprian; in the first commentary on Claudian, he also often quotes Ausonius, Martianus Capella, Sidonius Apollinaris, Silius Italicus; the same authors remain prominent in the *Adversaria* (1624) and in all later works. Barth is much interested in 'allem Gewollten, Gekünstelten, Theoretisch-Forcierten, Überfertigen und Nochnichtfertigen'; he finds in authors such as Claudian, Gellius, Apuleius, Martial and Martianus Capella innumerable starting points for excursions, notably linguistic and philological, and likes above all to explore 'die sprachlich-stilistischen und gedanklichen Grenzen und Übergänge'; among Christian authors, he is interested in those with half-pagan, gnostic and neoplatonist shades – and, in some cases, with linguistic peculiarities – such as Tertullian, Arnobius, Jerome, Clement of Alexandria, then in Lactantius, Fulgentius, Prudentius, and then in Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris. Finally, Barth is much interested in medieval authors.

⁶⁶ Barth, who often praises Petronius, also dedicated to him a short commentary, published in the *cum notis variorum* edition prepared by Melchior Goldast and (for part 2) 'Georgius Erhardus Francus' i.e. Michael Caspar Lundorp (cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 19:637–638): *T. Petronii Arbitri, equitis Romani Satiricon, cum Petroniorum fragmentis, noviter recensitum, interpolatum et auctum. Accesserunt seorsim notae et observationes variorum* (Frankfurt a. M. [Helenopolis], Johan Bringer: 1610); full reference in Dünnhaupt I 404 n° 7.1 (who also names Lundorp). Barth's notes are found in part 2, 487–521.

case (Apuleius, for instance, is often mentioned or quoted in connection with language).

In some cases the 'intertextual landscape' of both commentaries is much the same. When Claudian, in line 9, stresses the noble family origins of the young consuls, the two commentaries offer similar notes, although the redaction is somewhat different, and both quote Prudentius and Ausonius in order to confirm the historical fact.⁶⁷

Usually, however, the later commentary expands the quantity of 'parallel passages'. The average number of references for ten lines of commented text raises from about eleven in 1612 to about forty in 1650. In line 67, Claudian says that, by becoming consuls at an early age, Olybrius and Probinus 'have begun by the end', that is, have attained straightaway what usually is the last step of a long career. The earlier commentary here offered a brief note that – besides a critical discussion – simply referred to 'panegyrist' in order to illustrate this commonplace idea.⁶⁸ The later commentary – which deals with the text-critical issue under a separate, following lemma⁶⁹ – enormously expands on the same topic by illustrating the commonplace through a long list of quotations, mostly from Christian writers; it quotes Gregory of Nyssa, Callimachus, the *Story of Apollonius king of Tyre*, Prudentius, Sedulius, Paulinus of Nola, Jerome, Sidonius Apollinaris, Ennodius of Pavia, Paulinus of Périgueux, Pontius of Carthage, and also

⁶⁷ Barth 1612 ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 9 *Anniadae* 'Probus ex familia erat Anniorum, tunc quidem nobilissima, atque celebrium prima. Ita enim inter nobilissimas, Christum amplexas, eamdem hanc recenset atque refert Prudentius, in Symmachum lib.I. cap.XX. <Contra Symmachum 1.552–554> *Anniadum soboles et pignora clara Proborum*, | *Fertur enim ante alios generosus Anicius urbis* | *Illustrasse caput*. Ausonius ad hunc ipsum Probum scribens. Epistola XVI. <epistulae 10.32–34> *Stirpis novator Anniae*, | *Paribus comit infulis* | *Aniciorum stemmata*. Ut istae duae nobilissimae familiae Annia et Anicia matrimonii coaluisse sciantur scilicet. In Prudentio scribendum *orbis*'.

Barth 1650 ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 9 *Anniadae* 'Mira hic etiam librorum hallucinatio. In nostro vera scriptura diserte comparet *Anniadae*. Alii Belgici libri *Anniadae*. Sed dubitandum non est de ANNIIS, iunctis ANICIORUM nobilitati. Ausonius Epistola XVI. ad Probum. <epistulae 10.32–34> *Stirpis novator Anniae*, | *Paribus comit infulis* | *Aniciorum stemmata*. Sic duo haec iungit, florem Romanae Nobilitatis nominatim recensens Prudentius, lib.I. in Symmachum, Proborum sanguinem utrique innectens. <contra Symmachum 1.552–554> *Anniadum soboles, et pignora clara Proborum*, | *Fertur enim ante alios generosus Anicius Orbis* | *Illustrasse caput*. Nihil itaque deinceps de veritate scripturae dubitandum'.

⁶⁸ Barth 1612 ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 67 [66] *caepistis quo finis erat* 'Qua rescribendum patet. Aliorum, ait, finis, vestrum est exordium. Ita Panegyristae. *Qua* valet *Ubi*, ut contra *Ubi*, *Qua*, ut pluribus ad Appuleium in Indice illo operosissimae diligentiae docemus'.

⁶⁹ Barth 1650 ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 67 [68] *qua* [sic] *finis erat*.

the medieval writers Justinus Lippiensis, Arnulf of Lisieux, Bede, Peter the Venerable, Peter of Poitiers and Dudo of Saint-Quentin.⁷⁰

Though rather spectacular, this example is representative of the multiplication of textual references in the second *Claudian*. It is also representative of how much attention Barth gives to patristic, late-antique, medieval and Byzantine authors. This attention is not related primarily to Barth's conviction that Claudian was a Christian,⁷¹ but, rather – inter alia – to linguistic interests which embrace archaic and archaizing authors too.⁷² It was already visible in the *Claudian* of 1612; however, it is much more obvious and features a wider range of authors in the commentary

⁷⁰ Barth 1650 *ad* 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 67 [68] *caepistis quo finis erat* 'Quo loco. Melius scripseris, Qua. Qua alii destiterant, inquit, vos incipiebatis. Laus multis adscripta, ex imo, ut dicamus ita, fundamine commendandis. Gregorius Nyssenus *vita* [*scil.* Gregorii] Thaumaturgi: [= *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. XLVI, 901, ll. 46–51]. Callimachus in Iovem. [*hymni* 1.56–57]. Interpretes Apollonii Tyrii: [26]. Prudentius, Hymno Eulaliae: [*peristefanon* 3.23–25]. Sedulius, lib.II. [*carmen paschale* 2.134–137]. Paullinus VC. Carmine de B. Baptista. [Paulinus Nolensis, *carmina* 6.219–220]. Hieronymus ad Demetriadem: [Hieronymus, *epistulae* 130.1]. Dicae Claudianum describere voluisse. Sidonius Panegyrico Maioriani. [*carmen* 2.206–209]. Ennadius [*scil.* Ennodius]. Dictione in Epiphanium, XXX. anno Sacerdotii. [*carmen* 1.9.67–68]. Benedictus Paullinus [*scil.* Petricordiae] lib.I. Martin. [*de vita sancti Martini* 1.131–132]. Pontius Diaconus [*scil.* Carthaginiensis], *vita* Cypriani: [6]. Media etiam dominante Barbaria, sic illustria ingenia cecinere. Iustinus Poeta [*scil.* Lippiensis] de Comitibus Lippiae: [*Lippiflorium Magistri Iustini* 49–50]. Arnulphus Lexoviensis, Carmine ad Nepotem, quo ei Heliconem resignat. [*carmen* 14.9–12]. Beda in Cutberto; cap. II. [Beda Venerabilis, *vita Cuthberti metrica* 1.70–71]. Petrus Mauritius [*scil.* Petrus Venerabilis, Pierre-Maurice de Montboissier], Hymno in B. Benedictum. [*epistulae, hymnus in depositione sancti Benedicti, ad vespas* 5]. Petrus Pictaviensis, Panegyrico Mauriti, Eleganter. [= *Patrologia Latina*, vol. CLXXXIX, col. 55A, ll. 14–15]. Dudo Sanguintinus [*scil.* Sanquintinus] lib.III. de Ducibus Normannis: [46]. On the potentially digressive nature of (lists of) quotations, cf. Berlincourt, "Going Beyond the Author", 283–285 in particular.

⁷¹ The same attention is present in Barth's commentary on Statius (cf. p. 147 and n. 80 below), whom Barth did not consider a Christian (while others, such as Quevedo, did: see Kallendorf H. – Kallendorf C., "Conversations with the Dead: Quevedo and Statius, Annotation and Imitation", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (2000) 131–168 and Kallendorf C. – Kallendorf H., "Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano" (*Purg.* 22.73): Statius as Christian, from 'Fact' to Fiction", *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch* 77 (2002) 61–72, cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 585). Barth claimed instead Claudian 'as a new (Protestant) Christian authority for an age of crisis', and his position seemingly was influential on the Protestant reception of this poet: see Reinhart, "Text and Simultext" 283 and 293 about Barth, *Adversaria*, 1624, book 1, chapter 7; it may be added that in his commentary of 1650 Barth refers to that same chapter in his introduction to the poem *Laus Christi* (classified among the *spuria vel suspecta* in Hall's edition). Critics now tend to assume that Claudian was a non-militant pagan (see notably Charlet, *Claudian: Œuvres* I XVII–XIX, who speaks of 'paganisme culturel diffus'), but new advocates of his Christianity are found, notably Döpp S., *Zeitgeschichte in Dichtungen Claudians* (Wiesbaden: 1980) 24–41.

⁷² Cf. n. 65. Further reasons for referring to late-antique authors include, of course, historical issues: cf. n. 64.

of 1650 – as is clearly seen, as it happens, in the notes bearing on the first line of Claudian's poem.⁷³

If Barth tends to adduce many more texts in his later work, we can observe nonetheless, conversely, that some mentions and quotations present in the first commentary are suppressed in the second. For instance, when Claudian says in line 59 that Probus held the reins of Italy, Barth offered in 1612 a short note that simply referred to a 'very similar' expression in Prudentius.⁷⁴ In 1650 he produces a more substantial historical note which makes no room for this reference. With respect to the 'inter-textual landscape' as to other features, the second *Claudian* is not a mere expansion of the first, but a truly different book.

Besides the number and selection of 'parallel passages' (and the range of authors) mentioned or quoted, evolution between the commentaries of 1612 and 1650 also involves the use of such passages in the context of poetics, and of *imitatio* in particular.

Explaining Claudian's poetics through his sources and models was already a frequent concern of Barth's in 1612. Claudian says in line 17 that consular honours are a recurring distinction in the family of Olybrius and Probinus, and he then adds the generalizing expression that in this family 'fate follows the offspring', *prolem fata sequuntur*. Barth showed in his earlier commentary that this expression is borrowed from Statius, and the note in the later commentary is quite similar in this specific instance.⁷⁵

Often, however, difference is obvious with regard to such references. On the one hand, in 1650 their number increases. On the other hand, and more importantly, some changes occur in their scope. While in 1612 Barth's analysis was usually limited to isolated 'imitations' without any relationship to each other, in 1650 the commentator develops the discussion of 'systemic' connections, that is, of Claudian's recurring 'imitations' of the same text. A striking example is provided by lines 7–10, where Claudian

⁷³ See p. 135 and n. 41 above. The evolution mentioned here will be contextualized more broadly in the conclusion.

⁷⁴ Barth 1612 *ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 59 Italiae cum fraena teneret* 'similime Prudentius de se ipso praefa. Cathemerinôn. <praefatio operum 17> *Fraenos nobilium reximus urbium*'.

⁷⁵ Barth 1612 *ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 17 prolem fata sequuntur* 'Papinium [scil. Statium] imitatur de Iove lib.I. Thebaid. divinum hunc versum proferentem. <1.213> *Pondus adest verbis, et vocem fata sequuntur*. Quomodo de Diis in universum locutum alibi memini Martianum Capellam'.

Barth 1650 *ad 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 17 prolem fata sequuntur* 'Auctorem suum aemulatur et παρωδιάζει, Papinium [scil. Statium], prima Thebaide. <1.212–213> *immutabile sanctis | Pondus adest verbis, et vocem fata sequuntur*'.

expresses the wish that the new year should begin with joyful feelings, and then says that the Sun is accustomed to opening the new year with consuls belonging to this family.

In the commentary of 1650, Barth first (*ad* 7) shows connections both with Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* and with Statius's *Silva* 4.1, the short piece on Domitian's seventeenth consulship, and he makes the comprehensive observation that Claudian's consular panegyrics are modelled on the latter text.

[Barth 1650 *ad* 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 7 *laetique petant exordia menses*] Ex Pollione Maronis: <Virgil, *eclogae* 4.12> *incipient magni procedere menses*. Plerisque Consularibus Panegyricis sequitur Claudianis, breve Papinii [*scil.* Statii] Carmen in Decimum Septimum Domitiani [*scil.* *silvae* 4.1].

Here the commentator is also probably thinking of, but does not explicitly point to, a more specific connection with the first lines of Statius's poem.⁷⁶

Next (*ad* 9) Barth makes a connection between the word *ductores* that Claudian applies to the consuls and a line in the same poem of Statius; the connection, though not very convincing, shows well Barth's intention to illustrate what he has previously said at a general level.

[Barth 1650 *ad* 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 9 *ductoribus illis*] Consulibus, qui Duces anni; & Honores Omnes suo illustant, ducuntque. Papin-
ius [*scil.* Statius]. IV. Silvarum. I. <4.1.25–27> *gaudent turmaeque, tribusque, |*
Purpureique patres, Lucemque a Consule ducit | Omnis honos.

Then (*ad* 10) Barth follows on the same pattern by identifying two lines in Statius's poem as the source of inspiration for Claudian's thought and diction.

[Barth 1650 *ad* 'For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus' 10 *instaurare vias*] Recentare annos, et felicibus titulis mactare. Papinianum [*scil.* Statio] est, ex eodem Carmine, Iano Caesarem alloquente: <4.1.17–18> *Salve, Magne parens mundi, qui saecula mecum | Instaurare paras*.

Such repeated references to Statius's *Silva* 4.1 in the commentary of 1650 imply that, in Barth's view, Claudian had in mind this hypotext throughout when he composed the initial part of his panegyric *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus*. We should also remember that Barth introduces *Silva* 4.1 (lines 23–25) in his very first note of detail on Claudian's poem, as

⁷⁶ Statius, *silvae* 4.1.1–4 *laeta bis octonis accedit purpura fastis | Caesaris insignemque aperit Germanicus annum, | atque oritur cum sole novo, cum grandibus astris | clarius ipse nitens et primo maior Eo*. Cf. Wheeler, "More Roman than the Romans of Rome" 104–110.

the first 'parallel passage' in his commentary.⁷⁷ In 1612 Barth did not comment at all on the connection between the wishes expressed about the new year and *Silva* 4.1 (or the *Fourth Eclogue*). The observations he makes in this regard in 1650 are representative of how, in the meantime, he has become sensitive to features of 'systemic' *imitatio* and thus developed a new way of reading Claudian's 'political poems'.

4. Contextualizing Barth's Second Commentary on Claudian

The few examples discussed above have shown that, while Barth's later commentary does not offer a political reading more firmly related to contemporary events (but, rather, a more strongly historicizing reading) than the earlier commentary, it significantly differs from it in the way it deals with other aspects, such as textual criticism. More specifically, Barth greatly expands the 'intertextual landscape' of his exegesis of Claudian. The number of texts mentioned and quoted for any kind of purpose increases, and their range becomes much wider. Illustrative references remain prominent by far, but Barth gives more space to references aimed at illuminating Claudian's poetics; his approach changes notably with regard to 'systemic' *imitatio*, a feature that Barth highlights much more clearly in 1650 than in 1612.

The differences between the first and the second commentaries are partly related to more general trends in Barth's scholarly activity.

In the commentary of 1650, the proliferation of Christian references, and especially of quotations with a moral message, is often obvious – though it should also be observed that it is not systematic.⁷⁸ Admittedly, a number

⁷⁷ See p. 134 above.

⁷⁸ If Barth tends to illustrate commonplace ideas with many more texts in the second commentary than in the first (as we have seen on pp. 142–143 and n. 70 above), sometimes he also chooses *not* to expand upon such subjects, and even explicitly refuses to do so. For instance, when Claudian says in lines 39–40 that Probus, the father of the young consuls, 'never was puffed up with success that engenders pride' (*numquamque levantibus alte | intumuit rebus* tr. Platnauer), the commentator declares that 'he who would like to compile such passages would easily build a large commentary': 'Utriusque Fortunae Victor, ne elatus prospera, nec victus adversa. Horatius. [*carmen* 2.10.21–24]. Talia qui congerere velit, hinc Commentarium magnum faciat. Pulcre Prosper in sententiis. [Paulinus Nolanus (pseudo), Prosper Aquitanus (dubium), *Poema coniugis ad uxorem* = *Patrologia Latina*, vol. LXI, col. 740B, 111–112]. Certum alioquin quod asseverat Ovidius. [*ars amatoria* 2.438]. Sciebant Abdolonymus apud Curtium, Agathocles Ausonium, &c'. The commentary of 1612 did not comment on the utterance concerned.

of patristic, late-antique, medieval and Byzantine authors were already referred to in the first commentary, as they were in others of Barth's early works.⁷⁹ However, such references are particularly present in his second *Claudian* as in the commentary on Statius, published posthumously in 1664–1665.⁸⁰ This undeniable change in the 'intertextual landscape' may be set against a gradual development in Barth's deeper concern with religion and spirituality. These interests were already felt at an early date, but they became more prominent since the 1620's; they are most visible in Barth's late scholarly publications, such as the commentaries on Aeneas of Gaza and Zacharias of Mitylene and on Claudianus Mamertus,⁸¹ as in his late literary production.⁸²

While the second commentary on Claudian makes connections with various authors, references to Statius are strikingly frequent, and, among them, references attesting 'systemic' *imitatio*, such as those examined in the final part of the previous section. These features are related to the concomitant preparation of the commentary on Statius⁸³ – a work that, like the second *Claudian*, belongs to the same tradition of expansive commentary as La Cerda's Virgilian commentary.⁸⁴ With regard to 'systemic' connections in particular, the roughly contemporaneous preparation of the

⁷⁹ On Barth's interest in late-antique and medieval authors, see Hoffmeister, *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* 26–27, Wolff, "Les *Adversaria* de Caspar von Barth" 51–52 and Wolff, "Barth (Caspar von)" 58–59, who notably discuss his early works and his *Adversaria* of 1624 (including an early dissertation on Latin language and literature, reprinted in *Adversaria*, book 9, chapter 50); cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 116 and 134. Cf. n. 65.

⁸⁰ On the references to such authors in the commentary on Statius, see Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 134, 490–495. As we have seen on p. 143 and n. 71 above, their presence in the *Statius* undermines the hypothesis that their frequency in the *Claudian* is primarily linked to Barth's notion of Claudian as a Christian.

⁸¹ *Aeneas Gazaeus et Zacharias Mitylenaeus philosophi Christiani De immortalitate animae, et mortalitate universi* (Leipzig, Joahannes Bauer: 1653) and *Sancti patris nostri Claudiani Ecdicii Mamerti De statu animae libri III* (Zwickau, Göpner: 1655); full references in Dünnhaupt 1990–93 I:416–417 n° 37–38. It may be observed that Zacharias (whom the *Claudian* of 1650 refers to, for example, in the third and sixth notes on *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus* 1, cf. n. 41) was absent from the index of the *Claudian* of 1612.

⁸² Barth published in 1655 the first overall edition of his *Soliloquia rerum divinarum* (Zwickau, Göpner: 1655), parts of which had been released first in 1623 and then from 1645 on; full references in Dünnhaupt 1990–93 I:409–410 n° 22, discussion in Hoffmeister, *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* 64–78. The *Zodiacus vitae Christianae* (Frankfurt a. M., Wechel: 1623) may be considered a turning point in his literary output; full reference in Dünnhaupt I 408 n° 19 (cf. 405 n° 10 for the partial publication from 1612), discussion in Hoffmeister, *Kaspar von Barths Leben, Werke und sein Deutscher Phönix* 56–64.

⁸³ On the dating of the second *Claudian* and of the *Statius*, cf. pp. 127–128 and nn. 9 and 11 above.

⁸⁴ Cf. n. 32. La Cerda's commentary is particularly noteworthy for its interest in poetics.

Claudian of 1650 and the *Statius* clearly nurtured Barth's attention to the relationship between both poets.⁸⁵ It probably also nurtured his attention to 'intertextual' relationships in general, and encouraged him to develop the kind of 'systemic' reading that characterizes the second commentary on Claudian as the commentary on Statius.⁸⁶

At a more general level, links between the *Statius* and the second *Claudian* are clearly seen where both books adopt similar references – of whatever kind – that were absent from the early commentary on Claudian. A remarkable instance is the discussion of the *imagines* mentioned in *For the consuls Olybrius and Probinus* 18–19. The commentary of 1612 (*ad 18 aere vetusto floreat*) only provided a 'collateral' discussion⁸⁷ of Statius, *Thebaid* 2.215–216 rejecting Lipsius's views (*Electa*, 1585, book 1, chapter 29, p. 152), along with quotations from Juvenal 7.125–126 and Ovid, *fasti* 6.363–364. The commentary of 1650 (*ad 18 [19] licet aere vetusto floreat*) includes a reference to Polybius book 6, and then a 'collateral' discussion of Statius, *Thebaid* 2.215–216 more clearly aimed at refuting Lipsius, which is based on the present passage from Claudian and on Statius, *Thebaid* 6.268–273, Juvenal 7.125–126, Ovid, *fasti* 6.363–364, Tacitus, *dialogus de oratoribus* 11.3 and Statius, *silvae* 2.2.63–64. Barth's note *ad* Statius, *Thebaid* 2.216 *aera*, also aimed at refuting Lipsius, refers to the commentary on Claudian ('Dictum alibi, & ad Claudianum.') and then quotes Statius, *Thebaid* 6.272–273, Juvenal 7.125–126 (wrongly referred to as 'Sat.VIII.'), Tacitus, *dialogus de oratoribus* 11.3 and Statius, *silvae* 2.2.63–64.⁸⁸

Through the few examples analyzed in this paper, I hope to have shown that the exceptional case of Barth's two commentaries on Claudian, published at an interval of almost forty years, gives us a privileged opportunity to observe the development in the individual interests and practice of an early modern commentator.

⁸⁵ In the *Statius*, Barth calls Claudian a *perpetuus imitator* of the Flavian poet: see Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 406–407 and n. 24.

⁸⁶ On 'intertextual' reading in the commentary on Statius, see Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 405–408 and 453–467.

⁸⁷ On 'collateral' discussions in exegetical discourse, see Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde*, *index rerum* s.v.; cf. Berlincourt, "Going Beyond the Author", 282–285.

⁸⁸ It is noteworthy that Barth's commentary on Statius's *Silvae* (whose final redaction is later than that of the commentary on the *Thebaid*, cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 120–122) dispenses altogether with discussing lines 2.2.63–64. Cf. Berlincourt, *Commenter la Thébaïde* 509–510 for other commentators' notes on Statius, *Thebaid* 2.215–216.

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- , *Cl. Claudiani, principum, heroumque poetae praegloriosissimi, quae exstant, Caspar Barthius ope septemdecim manuscriptorum exemplarium restituit: commentario multo locupletiore, grammatico, critico, philologo, historico, philosophico, politicoque, ita illustravit: ut avctor pretiosissimus omni aetati, scholasticae, academicae, aulicae, politicaeque esse debeat ex commendato commendatissimus* (Frankfurt a. M., Johannes Naumann: 1650).
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HISTORY AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

JOSSE BADE'S *FAMILIARIS COMMENTARIUS* ON
VALERIUS MAXIMUS (1510): A SCHOOL COMMENTARY?*

Marijke Crab

SUMMARY

Throughout his career, the widely renowned Parisian scholar-printer Josse Bade (Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1462–1535) published numerous 'familiar' or grammatical commentaries on classical authors, intended for younger students. Bade's *familiaris commentarius* on the first-century Roman historian Valerius Maximus (first published in 1510), however, aimed at more mature readers and was not conceived as a textbook to be used in the classroom, but as an aid for private study. This article explores the ways in which the Christian humanist Bade unlocked Valerius's pagan *exempla* of virtues and vices, and examines to what extent the annotations of the Italian scholar Oliverius Arzignanensis, whose learned 1487 commentary Bade attached to his own, were confirmed, denounced, elaborated or transformed. Hence it becomes clear that the ultimate purpose of the 1510 *variorum* commentary on Valerius Maximus was that different kinds of readers could study one and the same text at different levels, according to their own interests and educational needs.

Josse Bade and Renaissance Education

Josse Bade (Jodocus Badius Ascensius) was one of the greatest scholar-printers of his time.¹ Born in Ghent in 1462, Bade studied in Italy under Battista Guarini and Filippo Beroaldo the Elder but spent his entire career

* I would like to thank Mark Crane for kindly correcting my English.

¹ For Josse Bade's life and works, see Renouard P., *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste (1462–1535)*, Burt Franklin Bibliographical and Reference Series 48, 3 vols. (New York: 1967 [= 1908]) and Lebel M., *Josse Bade, dit Badius (1462–1535). Préfaces de Josse Bade, humaniste, éditeur-imprimeur et préfacier* (Louvain: 1988). For Bade's (familiar) commentaries, see, apart from numerous case studies on his elucidations of Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Terence, the *Disticha Catonis*, Boethius, Petrarch, Battista Spagnoli (Mantuan) and Filippo Beroaldo the Elder, the articles by Schmidt P.G., "Jodocus Badius Ascensius als Kommentator", in Buck A. – Herding O. (eds.), *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft: Kommission für Humanismusforschung/Mitteilung 1 (Boppard: 1975) 63–71 and Crane M., "Virtual Classroom'. Josse Bade's Commentaries for the Pious Reader", in Rice Henderson J. (ed.), *The Unfolding of Words. Commentary in the Age of Erasmus*, Erasmus Studies (Toronto: 2012) 101–117, as well as the monograph by White P., *Jodocus Badius Ascensius:*

in France – first in Lyons where he worked for the printer Jean Trechsel and taught in the school of Henri Valluphin, and from 1503 until his death in 1535 in Paris, where he had established his own printing house, the *Praedium Ascensianum*. Bade's entire production amounts to some 775 editions of classical, medieval and humanist writers, in many cases accompanied by his own 'familiar' or grammatical commentaries. Stemming from his teaching in Lyons, Bade's *familiares commentarii* were obviously aimed at beginner-level learners of Latin. Given their basic style and purely auxiliary role, Bade did not compose his familiar commentaries in order to display his scholarly erudition. Rather, he applied his acumen to popularizing Latin literature and making it useful and beneficial to younger students in a twofold way. For not only did Bade aim to instill in his pupils a profound love of the *belles lettres* so that they would in turn become fluent readers and writers of Latin, he also wanted them to learn some important moral lessons, thus aiming to improve their level of both Latinity and Christianity.² Since in recent times considerable attention has been given to Bade's familiar commentaries on (classical) poets, this article focuses on Bade's elucidation of the first-century Roman historian Valerius Maximus, first published in Paris in 1510.³

Valerius Maximus as a School Author

While Valerius Maximus has long disappeared from present-day school curricula, he did occupy a prominent place in study programmes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴ Valerius's nine Books of *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, which contain about a thousand historical anecdotes

Commentary, Commerce and Print in the Renaissance, British Academy Postdoctoral Monographs (Oxford: 2013).

² Cf. Roberts M., "Interpreting Hedonism. Renaissance Commentaries on Horace's Epicurean *Odes*", *Arethusa* 28 (1995) 289–307 (306–307).

³ For a preliminary discussion of Bade's commentary on Valerius Maximus, see Schulian D.M., "Valerius Maximus", in Cranz F.E. – Kristeller P.O. (eds.), *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries* (Washington D.C., 1984) 5, 383–386.

⁴ See e.g. Grendler P.F., *Schooling in Renaissance Italy. Literacy and Learning (1300–1600)*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 107, 1 (Baltimore: 1989) and Black R., *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy. Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: 2001). We know, for example, that in the classrooms of Northern Italy, Valerius Maximus was read by some famous teachers such as Guarino Guarini da Verona and Vittorino da Feltre. Moreover, his *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* were recommended in the educational

exemplifying virtues and vices, were found particularly suitable for younger students at the beginning of the Latin curriculum, as his collection provided them with a comprehensive view of general history, as well as illustrations of virtuous precepts with which to embellish their style.⁵ Given the important role played by Valerius Maximus in fifteenth-century cultural life and education, his *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* were printed very quickly (the *editio princeps* was published before 1470 by the pioneering Strasbourg printer Johann Mentelin) and very often. Moreover, many of these early printed editions were accompanied by commentaries, the most important one of which was undoubtedly the elucidation by the otherwise unknown Italian scholar Oliverius Arzignanensis, first published in Venice in 1487 and printed seven more times during the *incunabula* period.⁶ In 1510, Josse Bade attached his own *familiaris commentarius* to that of Oliverius. Their joint venture proved highly successful, for together they went through thirty editions in the sixteenth century, not only in Paris, but also in Venice and Milan.⁷ In this article, I will try to answer the following questions: 1) How was the text of Valerius Maximus presented and read by Bade, and why so? 2) What is the precise relationship between Bade's own commentary and that of Oliverius? 3) Are we to consider Bade's elucidation of the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* a school commentary... or not?

*Bade's Familiaris Commentarius on Valerius Maximus:
A True School Commentary?*

Since the best way to introduce a commentary is to present a sample of it, I may well start by quoting Oliverius's and Bade's elucidation of a random

treatises of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (*De liberorum educatione*, 1450) and Guarino's youngest son Battista (*De ordine docendi ac studendi*, 1459).

⁵ Kallendorf C.W. (ed.), *Humanist Educational Treatises*, The I Tatti Renaissance Library 5 (Cambridge, MA – London: 2002) 284–287.

⁶ Oliverius Arzignanensis (before 1440–ca. 1488) was a grammar professor in Vicenza. His 1487 commentary on Valerius Maximus is the only work of scholarship he produced.

⁷ A clear indication of its success is the fact that Bade's commentary was first reprinted in Italy two and a half years after its original appearance in France, so six months before the 1510 privilege would expire. It should be noted, however, that while all Paris editions contain the double commentary by Oliverius and Bade, most Italian editions of the sixteenth century have a third commentary on Valerius Maximus, composed by Theophilus Chalcondyles; see Crab M., "Theophilus Chalcondyles' Commentary on Valerius Maximus (1508). New Perspectives on the Conflict between Janus Parrhasius and Alexander Minutianus", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 75.2 (2013) 291–318.

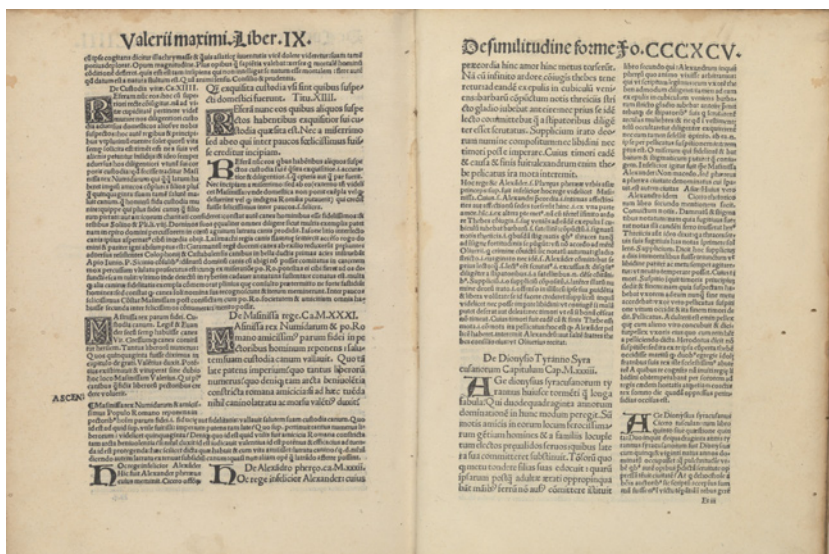


Fig. 1. Oliverius's and Bade's commentaries on Valerius Maximus, IX, 13, ext. 3, in *Valerius Maximus cum duplici commentario, historico videlicet ac litterato Oliverii Arzignanensis et familiari admodum ac succincto Iodoci Badii Ascensii* ([Paris]: 1510) fols. 395v–396r (Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, BIB.G.009101).

exemplum taken from Valerius's *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, Book IX, chapter 13 (*De cupiditate vitae*), which treats of king Alexander craving for life. But before turning to the 1510 commentary itself, I would like to call attention to its print presentation [Fig. 1] and to the means by which Bade sought to guide his Renaissance readership through the myriad of Valerius's anecdotes. Suppose a Renaissance reader wished to study this particular story, he could obviously browse through the entire work (a large folio edition), orientating himself by means of the book and chapter headings. But since the *exemplum* under consideration is situated almost at the end, on fol. 395, he could locate it more easily using one of the heuristic aids that Bade added to facilitate searching and reading. On the one hand, there is a double table of contents, where Valerius's chapter headings are ordered both logically and alphabetically (quite an exceptional tool, which is advertised on the title page). On the other hand, the 1510 edition also includes an index to both Valerius's stories and the accompanying commentaries, so that in performing a simple query for Alexander Phraeus (the protagonist's full name), the reader is referred to *exemplum* no. 1032 at once. As can be seen from figure 1, the layout

of the 1510 edition is very traditional: though printed in a smaller type-face, the mass of commentary surrounds and even dominates the source text. The commentaries by Bade and Oliverius appear in two distinct blocks, and though their names are only seldom indicated in the margins, Bade's commentary is generally printed underneath Valerius's text, towards the inner margin, while Oliverius's commentary occupies the outer column.

Valerius's story of Alexander's *cupiditas vitae* runs as follows: 'More unhappy than king Masinissa was Alexander of Pherae, whose breast was tortured by love on the one hand and fear on the other. His passion for his wife Thebe knew no bounds, but when he came to her bedroom after dinner he had a barbarian tattooed with Thracian marks go in front with drawn sword, and did not entrust himself to the same bed until it had been carefully searched by his guards. A punishment contrived by the angry power of the gods, to be unable to rule either lust or fear! The same woman was the cause of his fear and the end of it, for Thebe killed Alexander, angered by his relations with a concubine.'⁸ In his commentary on this *exemplum*, Oliverius applies his usual twofold method. Firstly, he quotes both a parallel source and an alternative version of the same story (Cicero⁹ and Herodotus¹⁰ respectively). Secondly, Oliverius adds some notes, in this case identifying the story's protagonist (not Alexander the Great, but the same king Alexander who was also mentioned by Cicero in the second Book of his *Rhetorica*),¹¹ interpreting some difficult words (like *paelicatus*, 'the cohabiting with a kept mistress', which Oliverius elucidates by means of its synonym *adulterium* and derivatives *paelex* and *pellicere*) and providing background information (like the fact that Thracian slaves got branded for running away). Whereas Oliverius's observations can only be understood if read alongside Valerius's text, Bade's commentary actually encloses Valerius's wording in that it offers a line-by-line and

⁸ Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, ed. and transl. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts – London: 2000) IX, 13. ext. 3: 'Hoc rege infelicio Alexander, cuius praecordia hinc amor, hinc metus torserunt: nam cum infinito ardore coniugis Thebes teneretur, ad eam ex epulis in cubiculum veniens barbarum compunctum notis Thraciis stricto gladio iubeat anteire, nec prius se eidem lecto committebat quam a stipatoribus diligenter esset scrutatus. Supplicium irato deorum numine compositum, neque libidini neque timori posse imperare. Cuius timoris eadem et causa et finis fuit: Alexandrum enim Thebe paelicatus ira mota interemit'.

⁹ Cicero, *De officiis* II, 25.

¹⁰ The story is actually to be found in Xenophon, *Hellenica* VI, 4.35–37, not in Herodotus.

¹¹ Actually Cicero, *De inventione* II, 149.

word-by-word paraphrase, usually introduced by the formula *ordo est*. A short illustration from the beginning of Bade's commentary on this story may suffice:

Alexander scilicet Pheraeus, Pherae urbis Asiae princeps, supple fuit inferior hoc rege videlicet Masinissa, cuius scilicet Alexandri praecordia id est intimas affectiones aut affectionum sedes torserunt hinc id est ex una parte amor, hinc id est ex altera parte metus.

Alexander namely Pheraeus, despot of the eastern city of Pherae, supply was more unfortunate than this king clearly Masinissa, whose breast that is the seat of Alexander's feelings and passions was tortured here that is one the one hand by love, and there that is on the other hand by fear.

So Bade proceeds by rearranging whole sentences, supplying missing words and making explicit every single phrase. Apart from repeating snippets of Oliverius's commentary (who had already stated that Pherae is a city in Asia) and referring his own reader to the alternative version as reported by his predecessor, Bade corrects Oliverius in one place: Thracian slaves were not branded for being fugitives, but wore their tattoos as a sign of bravery.

Throughout his running commentary, however, Bade does more than give mere synonyms. Occasionally, he touches upon points of grammar¹² and calls attention to figures of speech and to Valerius's idiom and rhetoric.¹³ Unlike Oliverius, Bade shows a certain interest in textual criticism, offering variant readings whose provenance is mostly unclear and often arguing *in utramque partem*. As was already clear from the layout of the 1510 edition, Bade is (again unlike Oliverius) concerned with the formal organization of Valerius's text and the way in which individual *exempla* fit into the collection as a whole. Like Valerius himself, Bade is eager to specify the precise relationship between the successive examples, chapters and books, and pays special attention to the *praefationes* which Valerius included in order to connect them to one another. Precisely because Bade has such good insight into the structure of Valerius's collection, he is able to point out some inaccuracies, for instance when a given *exemplum* does

¹² E.g. on Valerius Maximus I, 1,9 (ed. 1510, fol. 7v), Bade notes that two forms of the genitive plural for *ancyle*, viz. *ancylum* and *ancylorum*, are recorded: '[...] officii portandorum ancylum vel ancylorum: utrumque enim dicitur'.

¹³ On Valerius Maximus I, 6,11 (fol. 28v), for example, Bade indicates that it is good style to use an ellipsis to present a speech interrupted by sobbing: 'Pulchra est in re tristi ellipsis ubi singultus verba surripere videntur'.

not entirely fit into the category Valerius had assigned it to¹⁴ or when its title is not very well chosen.¹⁵ Bade is particularly sensitive to maintaining Valerius's strict division between Roman and external *exempla*, complaining when the order has been mixed up¹⁶ and even using the distribution as a criterion for interpretation.¹⁷ Though he does not go as far as to alter the order of Valerius's *exempla*, nor their titles, Bade sometimes decides to break up the stories and chapters in an alternative way.¹⁸

From this brief outline of both Oliverius's and Bade's commentaries, I would say that on the title page of the 1510 edition, Oliverius's commentary on Valerius Maximus was rightly called *historicus ac litteratus*, and Bade's *familiaris admodum ac succinctus*. Indeed, by placing Valerius's stories in their historical and literary context, Oliverius not only interprets, but also expands the text. Moreover, the additional background information offered by Oliverius is made accessible to the reader through printed marginal notes and the index mentioned above. Bade's succinct and simple commentary, on the other hand, focuses on the phrasing rather than the contents of the stories and does not go beyond the source text. In this respect, it is only logical that Bade does not quote as many classical authors as Oliverius, and that he quotes them much less frequently.

¹⁴ On Valerius Maximus I, 4, ext. 2 (fol. 19v), for example, the commentator indicates that the *exemplum* under consideration is about auspices, not omens: 'Hoc exemplum non est de omine, sed de auspiciis'. In his commentary on Valerius Maximus VI, 9,10 (fol. 256v), however, Bade admits that sometimes one and the same example can be placed under various headings and that its position is less important, if only we learn the right lesson (in this case, that fortune changes easily): 'Unum idemque exemplum diversis respectibus sub diversis titulis reponi potest, sed parvi refert, dummodo ex eius recordatione memores simus nostrum quoque statum posse mutari'.

¹⁵ On Valerius Maximus I, 1,12 (fol. 9r), for example, Bade indicates that the title is misleading because it contains the names of the consuls in office rather than the protagonist of the story: 'Titulus autem inscite positus est: nihil enim consules egerunt'.

¹⁶ E.g. on Valerius Maximus IV, 7, ext. 2b (fol. 181r): 'Commemorat amicitiam suam cum Sexto Pompeio, quod quidem exemplum domesticum est, sed toto hoc titulo exempla commiscuit per occasionem fere locutus' – 'Valerius mentions his friendship with Sextus Pompeius, which is indeed a Roman *exemplum*, but throughout this whole chapter he has mixed up examples, speaking almost haphazardly'.

¹⁷ E.g. on Valerius Maximus IX, 1,2 (fol. 354r): 'Neque filius illius Aesopi quem A. Gellius fabulatorem Phrygium et scriptorem apologorum dixit, cum ille ne umquam quidem Romam viderit, hic autem civis Romanus fuerit, cum aliter inter externa reponeretur exempla' – 'Nor is the protagonist of this story a son of the famous Aesop whom Aulus Gellius called 'the Phrygian storyteller' and a 'writer of fables', since the latter did not see Rome even once, while the former was a Roman citizen. Otherwise this *exemplum* should have been placed amongst the external ones'.

¹⁸ E.g. on Valerius Maximus V, 9,1 (fol. 227r), Bade prefers to treat separately two stories which earlier scholars had read as one: 'Quocirca quidam superiori annexam habent hanc partem quam malui segregare'.

However, Bade does cite more contemporary authors than Oliverius, such as the works of Marcantonio Sabellico for historical evidence and Lorenzo Valla for grammatical comments.

So as to the question to what extent Oliverius's annotations were confirmed, denounced, elaborated or transformed by Bade, I would say that Bade's familiar commentary in fact provides his readership with an alternative discourse, which makes a perfect introduction to Valerius's work by offering the reader practical help reading and understanding the Latin text. However, Bade's commentary is not completely detached from that of Oliverius. As is clear from the example of Alexander of Pherae, there is a certain degree of overlap and Bade repeatedly guides his own readership to his predecessor's commentary. Yet whether Bade confirms or denounces Oliverius's views, he does so in equally polite and courteous tones. From the very beginning, Bade emphasizes the richness of Oliverius's commentary to justify the brevity of his own.¹⁹

Therefore, it would be most interesting to see what happens when Oliverius's commentary is lacking. For in the middle of Valerius's first Book (I, 1, ext.4 – I, 4, ext.1), twenty-four *exempla* were missing in all Italian manuscripts and early editions. First printed in 1501,²⁰ they were obviously not commented on by Oliverius (whose work was published in 1487), which makes Bade's explanation all the more valuable.²¹ An important question is then whether Bade compensated for the absence of the Italian commentary by adapting his own strategy to that of Oliverius. In fact, he does. For even though paraphrase continues to be the main element of Bade's elucidation, it is clear that his commentary at this point grows much more comprehensive. Like Oliverius, Bade prefaces his running commentary on about half of the additional *exempla* with either a summary in his own

¹⁹ On Valerius's preface (fol. 2r), Bade claims to have restrained his pen and to have been brief because he wanted neither to repeat nor to erase what Oliverius had written well: 'Sed stilum contraham ideo brevis futurus quod ab Oliverio benedicta neque inculcare neque delere volui'.

²⁰ According to Schullian, "Valerius Maximus" 302–303, the twenty-four *exempla* were supplied first in the Leipzig edition issued by Martinus Herbipolensis in 1501 and then by Aldo Manuzio in 1503 in a kind of supplement inserted in some copies of his 1502 edition. Since Bade adds Manuzio's prefatory letter of April 1503, he must have taken the additional stories from the Venice edition. It should be noted, however, that the gap was not filled with Valerius's original *exempla*, but with their epitome by Julius Paris (fourth century).

²¹ As such, it was advertised on the title page of the 1510 edition: '[...] Iodoci Badii Ascensii, qui quattuor et viginti exempla Aldino auspicio nuper inventa simili commentatione declaruit' – '[...] Josse Bade, who has produced a similar commentary on the twenty-four *exempla* recently discovered under the guidance of Aldus Manutius'.

words or a quotation from parallel sources such as Sabellico and Livy. And even though Bade does not adopt Oliverius's habit of adding notes on difficult points or words, throughout his running commentary he does provide the reader with background information, extra anecdotes etcetera, all with reference to classical authors. So Bade must have felt that his familiar commentary alone would not suffice. At any rate, his effort was appreciated, for in later editions (such as the one printed in Paris in 1513), some of Bade's comments on the 24 additional *exempla* received printed marginal notes, just as Oliverius's had.

Be that as it may, it remains to be seen whether Bade's elucidation of the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* constitutes a proper school commentary. Given the lack of systematic grammatical instruction and the complete absence of moralizing observations, it is difficult to see how this commentary would improve its readers' level of Latinity and Christianity. For sure, the paraphrase-commentary was the instrument *par excellence* for teaching Latin in Renaissance schools and had among its pedagogical advantages that young students could learn the vocabulary within a literary context.²² Furthermore, it is a fact that printed (school) commentaries on classical authors contained few comments on morality, either because Renaissance teachers developed the moral lessons orally, or because they believed that close reading itself engendered morality.²³ However, if we compare Bade's commentary on Valerius Maximus to that on Sallust²⁴ (the only other historian to whom Bade dedicated a familiar commentary, first printed in 1504), we notice some major differences. Already on the title page, Sallust is presented as a true historian and exemplary writer of Latin (*Romanae linguae fundamentum*), whom youngsters should try to imitate. In order to help them achieve this goal, Bade prefaces his commentary on Sallust with a number of paratexts: firstly, an essay on the meanings and varieties of history and its uses; secondly, twenty precepts on the writing of history, and finally a typical *accessus ad auctorem*, in which Bade discusses the life of Sallust, the title and structure of his work, its *stilus scribendi*, *qualitas* and *intentio*. A quick look at the Sallust commentary

²² Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* 246.

²³ See Black, *Humanism and Education* 26–28, building on Grafton A. – Jardine L., *From Humanism to the Humanities. Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1986) 22, 27 and 43, and Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* 260–263.

²⁴ Discussed by Osmond P.J. – Ulery, R.W., Jr., "Gaius Sallustius Crispus", in Brown V. (ed.), *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries* (Washington D.C.: 2003) VIII, 183–326 (245–248 and 294–295).

itself reveals that its discourse, notwithstanding the usual paraphrase, is broader than that on Valerius. On the one hand, Bade singles out Latin words for discussion, identifying their conjugation or flexion, their different meanings and constructions, as illustrated by quotations from the best Latin writers. On the other hand, he regularly inserts *regulae grammaticales* and *regulae venustatis*, which are duly indicated in the margins.²⁵

So the question arises whether Bade's commentary on Valerius Maximus, like that on Sallust, really resulted from and was intended for the classroom. The answer lies in Bade's prefatory letter to Germain de Ganay, counselor to the king and bishop of Cahors and Orléans. In this letter, dated June 5, 1510, Bade states that he has explained the work of Valerius Maximus, which Oliverius had lively illustrated by means of parallel sources, in a brief and easy commentary (*succincta faciliq[ue] commentatione*), because he understood that such a commentary was needed by those men who, occupied by higher affairs (*altioribus studiis occupati*), would not want to read a longer one, or else would not be able to take in a more difficult one, at least on the first reading; and also so that people in remote villages and small towns who were far from the literature schools (*ab litterario gymnasio seiuncti*) might have the means to slake their thirst, if not satisfy it.²⁶ As such, it becomes clear that Bade conceived his commentary on Valerius Maximus not as a textbook to be used in the classroom, but as an aid for private study.²⁷ Furthermore, Bade says that he has deliberately passed

²⁵ E.g. in his commentary on the opening lines of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, Bade writes (ed. 1504, fol. 1v): 'Duae sunt pueris adnotandae regulae. Prima est: pulchre ubi ad generalitatem transit sermo ad secundam personam etiam singularem aut ad verbum impersonale transfertur oratio, ut hic: *priusquam incipias* pro eo quod est *quivis incipiat*, ut Aeneidos quarto: *migrantis cernas* pro eo quod est *quilibet cernat*. Ad impersonale ut in Bucolicis: *usque adeo turbatur agris*' – 'Schoolchildren should take note of two rules. The first is that it is good style for a speech to be written in the second person singular or to use an impersonal verb when the subject matter moves to a general statement'.

²⁶ 'Valerii Maximi multiugam [...] historiam, ab Oliverio Arzignanensi non oscitanter praesertim congruentium historiarum citatione declaratam, propterea succincta faciliq[ue] commentatione exposuimus, Germane splendidissime, quod talem intelleximus desideratam ab iis qui altioribus studiis occupati neque prolixiorum legere velint, neque difficiliorum (saltem prima lectione) capere possint, simulq[ue] ut in claustris pagisque ac oppidulis ab litterario gymnasio seiuncti habent quo sitim suam sedent si non expleant'. The English translation is by Paul White, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius* chapter 3, who points out that in justifying his commentary as being intended for men occupied with higher affairs, Bade does not only gesture towards the classical prefatory topos of aristocratic *otium* but also echoes Valerius's own preface, in which he says that his work, a compilation of deeds and sayings which are too widely dispersed in different sources to be easily tracked down, is meant to spare the reader the hard work of first-hand research.

²⁷ Cf. White, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius* chapter 3. Mark Crane, whose study of Bade's familiar commentary on Valerius Maximus (esp. 105–107) leads to similar conclusions, coins the term 'virtual classroom'.

over linguistic details (which are the domain of schoolboys in grammar class) because the work of Valerius Maximus, making up an arena for veterans, is less suitable for novices, since the struggle is not in the wording (*verba*), but in the meaning (*sententia*), which enters the readers' soul.²⁸ So in Bade's opinion, the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* did not make appropriate reading for youngsters. For even if Valerius deserves full credit for gathering and unlocking historical knowledge,²⁹ we must not forget that in the end he is a pagan author, who did not witness the Epiphany. White-washing the Emperor Tiberius, approving of suicide and covering up some most immoral disgrace, as Bade puts it, Valerius is advancing principles and values that may have been valid in the first century but do not necessarily apply to Christian readers in the sixteenth century.³⁰

Yet despite these serious warnings against the author's ethics, in the commentary itself little trace of Bade's moral objections is to be found. Throughout Valerius's books III to IX, which offer a catalogue of virtues and vices, even those stories treating of murder, suicide, euthanasia and cannibalism were read in a conspicuously neutral way. However, every now and then Valerius's text is interpreted from a Christian perspective, for instance when the protagonists of a story on the safeguarding of religion are compared to Christian martyrs or Jews, who also died for their

²⁸ 'Hunc igitur auctorem paucis explanavimus, grammaticas nugellas consulto praetergressi, quod in eo veteranorum potius quam tironum iudicavimus palaestram, quippe in qua non verborum velitationem, sed gravem sententiarum (quae animos penetrent) conflictationem perspeximus'. The same assertion can be found in Bade's commentary on Valerius Maximus III, 1,1 (fol. 98r): 'Quia hic mores quaeruntur qui provectorum sunt cibi, non versor circa vocabulorum vim [...]. Sciat rudis lector [...]' – 'Since the subject matter here is fitting food for more advanced readers, I do not dwell on the meaning of words. Let the inexperienced reader know this [...]'.

²⁹ '[...] quam [cognitionem] utrum quispiam uberius commodiusve ac Valerius noster praestet, affirmare non ausim, siquidem omnium fere et temporum et nationum dicta ac facta tam probanda quam improbanda historico filo contextuit' – 'Whether any writer excels Valerius in richness or utility, I would not dare to comment, since he weaves together with historical thread the deeds, both praiseworthy and shameless, of nearly all ages and people'.

³⁰ 'Quin etiam integer lector, dum auctorem ipsum saeculi sui errore in devia abducum videbit, ut quando domum Caesaream nimia prosequitur palpitatione, aut sibi necem consciscendi approbat meticulousam (ut vere cum divino Augustino) fortitudinem, aut obscenissimam nescio quo pallio tegit turpitudinem, continuo gratias aget lumini per quod eius hallucinationem et interdum caecitatem perspexerit' – 'Let the wholesome reader repeatedly give thanks for the Light through which he may recognize Valerius's delusion, and occasionally his blindness, when he sees the author himself stray from the right path through the error of his own age, like when he describes the Emperor's household with too much fawning praise, or (as I shall say along with divine Augustine) praises the fearful strength for taking one's own life, or clothes the most obscene disgrace with whatever cover'.

faith.³¹ Another example is an anecdote about the sacrilegious Dionysius, who was only punished for the crimes he had committed during his lifetime by the disgrace of his son after his death. Although Bade agrees with Valerius that divine wrath makes up for tardiness of retribution by its severity, deeming the statement in line with Christian faith, he specifies that after death, Dionysius himself would be punished even more severely in hell.³² Especially in his commentary on Valerius's first Book, dealing precisely with Roman religion, the Christian humanist Bade points out time and again that the protagonists of Valerius's stories were pagans, slavishly worshipping manifold deities (demons, evil spirits) instead of the one true God, and that their faith amounted to mere superstition. Yet at the same time, Bade believed these examples of pagan superstition to be useful for Christian readers in that they could inspire and exhort them to (even greater) piety: given that the Romans proved such ardent followers of a false religion, should Christians not support a true and genuine one even more devoutly?³³

³¹ On Valerius Maximus I, 1,14 (fol. 10r): 'Non est cur martyrio coronatis comparandum negemus, qui licet ante lucem natus est tamen pie credendum est aut mitius cum eo ubicumque est agi, aut etiam feliciter. Quid enim magis potuit praestare aut patriae charitati aut fidei datae, quam vitam impendere et saevissima adire tormenta? [...] Quod idem martyribus Christi ex tyrannorum crudelitate contigit' – 'We have no reason to deny that the person should be compared to a sainted martyr, who although he was born before the Epiphany, nevertheless it must be piously believed that he is treated most gently and favourably, wherever he is. For what can excel love of country or giving one's word more than to give one's life and suffer the most savage torture? The same thing happened to the martyrs of Christ through the cruelty of tyrants'. On Valerius Maximus I, 1,15 (fol. 11r): '[...] quasi sentiret ideo perisse quod religiosi essent, quod Iudaeis aliquando accidit, qui ut sabbato quiescerent caedi sese permittebant' – '[...] as if he felt that they had died for this reason, that they were religious, which happened to the Jews from time to time, who suffered themselves to be slaughtered in order to rest on the Sabbath'.

³² On Valerius Maximus I, 1, ext. 3 (fol. 15r): 'Quod licet sit pie dictum et satis conformiter ad fidem nostram, tamen non satis fideliter sentit eum luisse supplicia in dedecore filii, quod solum in opinione viventium ad defunctum pertinuit, quasi vero non graviores multo det poenas in inferno. Sed loquitur quasi nullus sit infernus aut nihil maneat in homine, quod illic detrudatur' – 'Although this was said piously and well enough in agreement with our faith, nevertheless Valerius did not perceive faithfully enough that Dionysius paid the penalty through the disgrace of his son, because it only pertained to the deceased in the eyes of the living, as if, indeed, he would not pay a greater penalty in Hell. But Valerius speaks as if Hell does not exist, or as if nothing else would remain in man which could be sent there'.

³³ E.g. on Valerius Maximus I, 1,6 (fol. 6r): 'Hoc tamen utilitatis nobis afferre debent ut memores simus quantum in vera religione observanda diligentiae habere debeamus, cum ethnici in superstitione sua tam anxii observatores fuerint' – 'Nevertheless, such examples should impart this useful quality, that they remind us just how much diligence we must practice in observing true religion, since the pagans were such keen observers of their superstitious beliefs'. As such, Bade strongly confirms the comment made by Oliverius

Conclusion

Taken together, these findings show that Bade's commentary on Valerius Maximus did not necessarily originate from Renaissance education and was not primarily intended for younger students. Rather, it aimed at more mature readers who could draw their own lessons from Valerius's stories. Bade did not present the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* as a model for literary imitation (as he did with Sallust) or a plain book of moral guidance – though proper reading of the chapters on Roman religion could enhance Christian devotion. Rather, he considered Valerius's work a storehouse of historical information, which he sought to unlock in a twofold way. As a printer, Josse Bade rendered Valerius's collection increasingly accessible and thus manageable by adding paratexts and other heuristic aids. As a commentator, he opted for the method of running paraphrase in order to make Valerius's text more readable and thus comprehensible. Yet apart from elucidating Valerius's text, Bade also wished to place the stories in their historical and literary context. Therefore, he attached his own commentary to that of Oliverius Arzignanensis and (in its absence) even imitated his predecessor's discourse. No matter how attractive this combination may have been from a commercial point of view, the final purpose of Bade's 1510 *variorum* commentary on Valerius Maximus was that different kinds of readers could study one and the same text at different levels, according to their own agenda, interests and educational needs.

in his notes to Valerius Maximus I, 1,1b (fol. 3v): 'Tametsi haec religio superstitio potius dicenda sit, quippe demonum cultrix, et quae verum Deum non invenerat, haec tamen exempla non parum nobis prodesse possunt. Nam si daemonum cultores adeo religionis observantes fuisse videntur, quid nobis faciendum est, qui verum Deum vera religione colimus et veri cultus certa praemia expectamus?' – 'Even though their religion would be better labeled superstition, that is a worshiper of demons which had not discovered the true God, nevertheless these *exempla* can be of great use to us. For if the worshipers of demons seem to have been such ardent followers of religion, how should we, who worship the true God with true religion and await the certain rewards of true worship, act?'. The same idea is present in Bade's prefatory letter, see Crane, "Virtual Classroom" 107. The technique of arguing from less to greater was already developed by Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, V, 11,10, where he deemed it particularly useful in speeches of exhortation, for a man is more likely to be moved to action by the example of someone he considers inferior to himself than by the examples of his peers, cf. Holcroft A., *Sixteenth-Century Exempla Collections* (University of London, Unpublished Master's Thesis: 1976) 24.

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ILLUSTRATIONS AS COMMENTARY AND READERS' GUIDANCE.
THE TRANSFORMATION OF CICERO'S *DE OFFICIIS* INTO
A GERMAN EMBLEM BOOK BY JOHANN VON SCHWARZENBERG,
HEINRICH STEINER, AND CHRISTIAN EGENOLFF
(1517–1520; 1530/1531; 1550)

Karl A.E. Enenkel

SUMMARY

The contribution analyzes the ways in which woodcut illustrations – in combination with other paratexts – are used in Heinrich Steiner's edition of Johann Neuber's and Freiherr Johann von Schwarzenberg's (+1528) German translation of Cicero's *De officiis* (1530). The article demonstrates that Heinrich Steiner and Johann von Schwarzenberg have transformed Cicero's treatise into a (proto) emblem book, *On virtue and civil service*. This is especially interesting since – according to the *communis opinio* – the first emblem book appeared only a year later, in 1531: Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*, from the same Augsburg publisher (Steiner). In Alciato's *Emblematum libellus* – different from *On virtue and civil service* – the images were neither invented nor intended by its author. In *On virtue and civil service* as a standard, each “emblem” has (1) introductory German verses composed by Johann von Schwarzenberg, usually between two and six lines, (2) a woodcut *pictura* invented by either Johann von Schwarzenberg or Heinrich Steiner, and (3) a prose text consisting of a certain short, well-chosen passage of Cicero's translated *De officiis*, singled out by Johann von Schwarzenberg and consisting mostly of two or three paragraphs of the modern Cicero edition (i.e. approximately one or one and a half page of Steiner's folio edition). Johann von Schwarzenberg did his best to present the emblematic prose passages of Cicero's *De officiis* as textual units. In order to achieve this goal, he deleted certain sentences of Cicero's text, such as connective remarks, and also added explanatory sentences ('glosses'). In cases in which von Schwarzenberg was the inventor of the image, the image is always to be read in close combination with the German verses. The title, the verses, and the image all reflect on Cicero's prose text, and they present a certain interpretation of it. All three devices aim to adapt the translated text of *De officiis* to the interests of 16th-century German readers. It is interesting to see that their interests and intellectual horizon differ from those of scholarly humanism. It is remarkable that the images play an important role in this process of transformation. They guide the processes of textual meditation and the storage of the philosophical contents in memory. This means that the specific tendency or interpretation offered by the images heavily influences the understanding and application of Cicero's *De officiis* by German readers.

It is generally accepted that the first Emblem book – Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* – appeared in Augsburg on 28 February 1531.¹ If an emblem is defined as a certain combination of image and text (title/motto/*inscriptio* + image/*pictura* + text/*subscriptio*), its inventor was not really the Italian humanist and professor for jurisprudence, but rather the Augsburg publisher and printer Heinrich Steiner. It was Steiner who had the idea to furnish each epigram of Alciato's collection with a woodcut illustration. He ordered and financed the illustrations, and directed the process of production from the design/invention to the carving of the woodcuts. Steiner's idea was that the illustrations might contribute to the understanding and perception of the Latin poems, especially among less learned readers.² As the success of emblem books in the 16th and 17th centuries proves, Steiner's idea was not only good, but brilliant.

Twelve days before Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, 'am XVI. tag februarii', however, Steiner printed another work – a German translation of Cicero's philosophical treatise *De officiis* – that was structured in a very similar way [Fig. 1].³ Cicero's text was divided into a large number of small passages; each passage was equipped with a *poem* and a *woodcut illustration*. Cicero's text, in fact, was presented in a style and structure similar to that of Alciato's emblem book – which at that point must have been in its final stage of production. As a general rule, each "emblem" of *De officiis* started with an *inscriptio* in the form of a short German poem (mostly between two and six rhymed verses); then came a woodcut illustration, followed by a well-selected portion of *De officiis*. The almost simultaneous appearance of the German illustrated *De officiis* and Alciato's *Emblematum liber* is no coincidence; the two publications were inspired by and designed according to more or less the same idea, and they were part of a distinctive publishing program Steiner employed in those years. Both publications were very successful: Steiner iterated them in that same year and in those that followed. The *Emblematum liber* was printed once more in 1531,

¹ Cf. colophon: 'Excusum Augustae Vindelicorum, per Heynrichum Steynerum, die 28. Februarii, anno MDXXXI'; Green H., *Andrea Alciati and his Book of Emblems. A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (New York: 1872) 116–119.

² *Emblematum liber*, fol. <A1>v "Letter to the Reader".

³ *Officia M<arci>. T<ullii>. C<iceronis>. Ein Buoch so Marcus Tullius Cicero der Römer zuo seynem sunne Marco. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen eynes wol und recht lebenden Menschen in Latein geschriben, welchs auff begere Herren Johansen von Schwartzbergs etc. verteütscht und volgens durch ine in zyerlicher Hochteütsch gebracht. Mit vil figuren unnd Teütschen Reymen gemeynem nutz zuo guot in Druck gegeben worden* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531). Cf. Worstbrock F.J., *Deutsche Antikenrezeption 1450–1550*, 2 vols. (Boppard am Rhein: 1976), vol. I, 50 (no. 139).

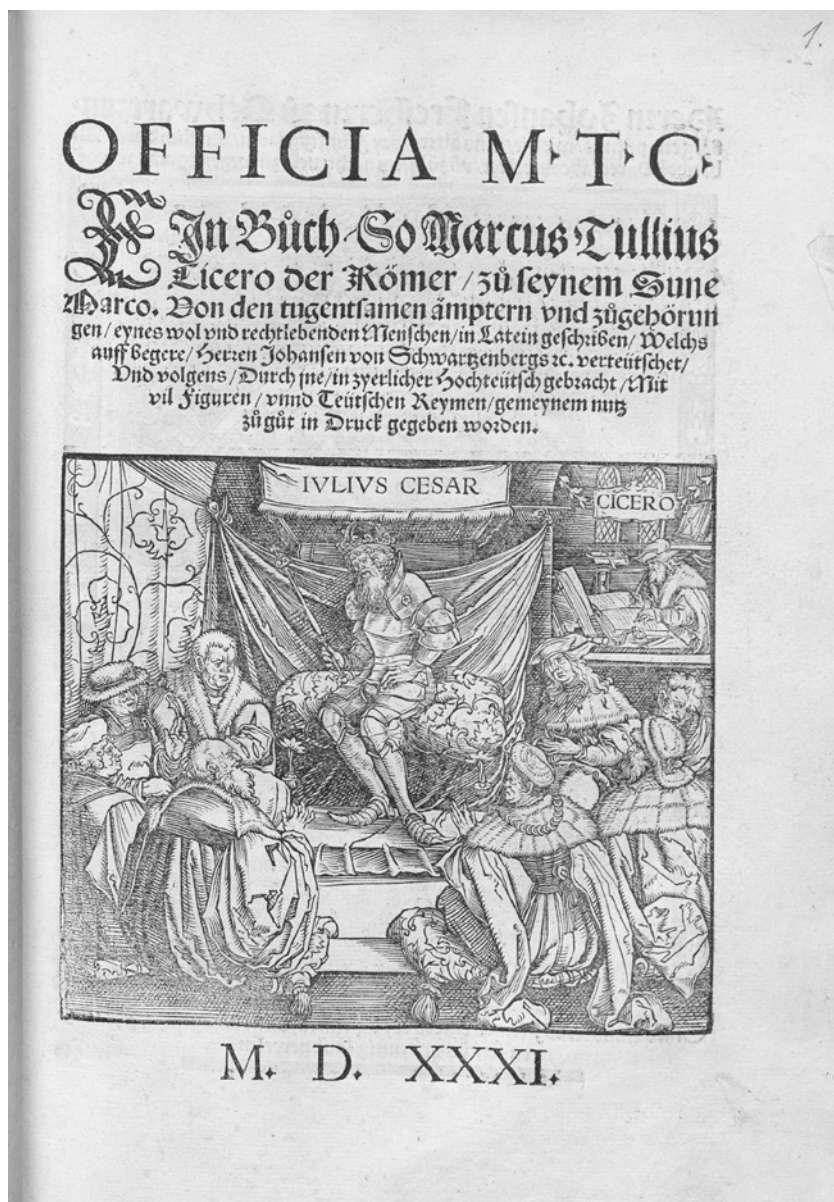


Fig. 1. Julius Caesar presiding over the Roman Senate. Title page of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531).

and further in 1532, 1533, and 1534;⁴ the German illustrated *De officiis* was printed three times in 1531,⁵ and further one time in 1532,⁶ 1533,⁷ 1535,⁸ and 1537,⁹ two times in 1540,¹⁰ and once more in 1545.¹¹ It appears that with 10 registered editions, the German *De officiis* was even more successful than the *Emblematum liber*. It was printed a bit earlier, and its main production process took place some months earlier than that of the *Emblematum liber*. As can be seen from the date of Steiner's first preface to the German *De officiis*, it was almost ready by 1 August 1530.¹²

That the *De officiis* came first was due to a number of reasons. An important one was that its production profited greatly from another publishing project Steiner embarked upon in those years, the edition of the German translation of Petrarch's treatise *De remediis utriusque fortune*, the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück, des guoten und widerwertigen* [Fig. 2].¹³ This work had been lavishly illustrated with 261 woodcuts by the so-called "Petrarch-Master",¹⁴ and although *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* appeared

⁴ Cf. Green, *Andrea Alciati* 119–122 (nos. 3–6).

⁵ 1st ed.: 16 February 1531 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 139); 2nd ed.: 29 April 1531 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 140); 3rd ed.: 7 December 1531 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 141). The colophons of the editions provide the exact dates. For the editions, cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* 50–52 (nos. 139–148); Degen J.F., *Versuch einer vollständigen Litteratur der deutschen Übersetzungen der Römer* (Altenburg: 1794) 71–82; Scheel W., *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* (Berlin: 1905) 371 (im Anhang, "Übersicht über die Drucke").

⁶ 4th ed.: 3 August 1532 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 142).

⁷ 5th ed.: 1 October 1533 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 143).

⁸ 6th ed.: 13 November 1535 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 144).

⁹ 7th ed.: 22 November 1537 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 145).

¹⁰ 8th ed.: 2 January 1540 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 146); 9th ed.: 13 December 1540 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 147).

¹¹ 10th ed.: 3 November 1545 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 148).

¹² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii r (for the first preface, "Die erst vorred", as a whole, see ibidem fols. ii r–iii v): 'Den ersten tag Augusti nach der gepurt unseres sälligmachers Jesu Christi, Tausent Fünffhundert und im dreysigsten Jar'.

¹³ *Unnd wess sich ain yeder inn Glück und unglück halten sol. Auss dem Lateinischen in das Teütsch gezogen. Mit künstlichen figuren durchauss gantz lustig und schoen gezyeret* [...], 2 books (Augsburg, Heinrich Steyner: 1532). Facsimile edition by M. Lemmer (Leipzig: 1984).

¹⁴ For these illustrations and their relationship with Petrarch's text, see Scheidig W., *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* (Berlin: 1955); Raupp H.-J., "Die Illustrationen zu Francesco Petrarca 'Von der Artzney bayder Glueck des guten und des widerwertigen' (Augsburg 1532)", *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 45 (1984) 59–112; Enenkel K.A.E., "Der Petrarca des Petrarca-Meisters: Zum Text-Bild-Verhältnis in illustrierten *De-Remediis*-Ausgaben", in idem – Papy J. (eds.), *Petrarch and his Readers in the Renaissance*, Intersections 6 (Leiden – Boston: 2006) 91–169; idem, "Pain as Persuasion: The Petrarch Master Interpreting Petrarch's *De remediis*", in idem – van Dijkhuizen J.F. (eds.), *The Sense of Suffering. Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture*, Intersections 12 (Leiden – Boston: 2008)



Fig. 2. Title page of Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532; private collection).

only in February 1532,¹⁵ Steiner had the woodcuts at his disposal much earlier; they had been carved in 1519/1520. The last illustration of the set shows (on the sarcophagus) the date 1520.¹⁶ Steiner bought the Petrarch-Master's intriguing woodcuts from the Augsburg printer-publisher Sigmund Grimm (formerly Grimm and Wirsung), who had failed to print the book and finally went bankrupt in 1527.¹⁷ Whereas for the *Emblematum liber* some 100 new woodcuts were to be made,¹⁸ for the German *De officiis* Heinrich Steiner used a large number of illustrations from the set of *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*. If one takes the first 20 emblematic images of the second book of *De officiis* as an example, about half of them belong to the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*.¹⁹ In total, Steiner transferred some 35 woodcuts from the German *De remediis* to the German *De officiis*. Moreover, he also took over some woodcuts from other already existing sets of illustrations he had in stock, such as that of the German translation of Petrarch's *De rebus memorandis* or *Rerum memorandarum libri*.²⁰

(2008) 91–164; idem, “Der Zusammenprall frühneuzeitlicher Weisheitssysteme in Wort und Bild: Die Augsburger Ausgabe von Petrarca's Glücksbuch (*De remediis utriusque fortune*)”, in *Coincidentia. Zeitschrift für Europäische Geistesgeschichte* 2/1 (2011) 91–125; Michel P., “Transformation und Augmentation bei Petrarca und seinem Meister”, in Schierbaum M. (ed.), *Enzyklopädistik 1550–1650. Typen und Transformation von Wissensspeichern und Medialisierungen des Wissens* (Berlin: 2009) 349–377; Fraenger W., *Altdeutsches Bilderbuch. Hans Weiditz und Sebastian Brant* (Leipzig: 1930); Lanckoronska M. Gräfin von., “Der Petrarcameister. Eine vorläufige Mitteilung”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 27 (1952) 111–120; eadem, “Der Petrarcameister und die Reformation”, *Imprimatur* 11 (1952–1953) 162–174; eadem, “Die Burgkmair-Werkstatt und der Petrarcameister”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 29 (1954) 171–180; Lemmer M., “Nachwort”, in Petrarca Francesco, *Von der Artzney* [...] 181–209.

¹⁵ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. CLXXVIII r: ‘Gedruckt und volendet in der Keyserlichen statt Augspurg, durch Heynrichen Steyner, Am IX. tag februarii im jar M.D.XXXII’.

¹⁶ Ibidem fol. CLXXVI r.

¹⁷ Reske Ch., *Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden: 2007), art. “Heinrich Steiner” 34–35; “Marx Wirsung”, “Sigmund Grimm”, and “Simprecht Ruff”, all on 33–34; Schottenloher K., “Der Augsburger Verleger Sigmund Grimm und sein Geschäftszusammenbruch im Oktober 1927”, *Der Sammler* 11 (1921) 344–345; Künast H.J., “Sigmund Grimm und Marx Wirsung (Simprecht Ruff), 1517–1527”, in Gier H. – Janota J. (eds.), *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Augsburg: 1997) 1218; Künast H.J., “Heinrich Steiner, 1522–1547”, ibidem 1220.

¹⁸ In the end, 97 woodcut illustrations were made. Cf. Green, *Andrea Alciati* 116.

¹⁹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* 1. woodcut fol. XLI r = *Artzney* I, 45; 5. woodcut fol. XLIII v = *Artzney* I, 82; 7. woodcut fol. XLIV v = *Artzney* II, 102; 10. woodcut fol. XLVII r = *Artzney* I, 70; 11. woodcut fol. XLVIII r = *Artzney* I, 85; 15. woodcut fol. L v = *Artzney* I, 67; 16. woodcut fol. LI v = *Artzney* I, 21; 17. woodcut fol. LII r = *Artzney* I, 79; 18. woodcut fol. LIII r = *Artzney* II, 13.

²⁰ *De rebus memorandis. Gedenckbuoch Aller der Handlungen, die sich fürtreffenlich vonn anbegind der Welt wunderbarlich begeben und zuogetragen haben, wirdig und werdt, dass inn ewig zeyt nymmermer inn vergess gestellt [...] Gantz new, lustig, lieblich, allen Ständen und menschen hoch nutzlich unnd noth zuo wissenn An den tag gebracht unnd verteütschet*

The idea to have the German *De officiis* illustrated was not genuinely Steiner's, but goes back to Freiherr Johann von Schwarzenberg (1463–1528)²¹ and dates back to well before 1520. Johann von Schwarzenberg not only initiated the translation, reworked it, and had it edited by a humanist scholar, Lorenz Behaim,²² but he was also the person who selected (or designed) the “emblematic” passages and composed the poems that introduce each “emblem”. First, a new translation from the Latin was made by Schwarzenberg's chaplain, Johann Neuber; then, Schwarzenberg reworked the text freely: he changed the construction of sentences, and he deleted and added words, and sometimes even sentences or passages. In this way, Cicero's text was sometimes considerably altered.²³ Schwarzenberg also changed the language into Frankish ‘Hoffdeutsch’. He considered it of the utmost importance to avoid the impression of clumsy “verbatim” translations; the translation should always be ‘von synnen zu synnen, unnd nit von worten zuo worten’, as the second preface of *De officiis* states,²⁴ and as it is stressed in the paratexts to all translations made by Schwarzenberg. Of course, it was already Neuber's task to translate ‘von synnen zu synnen’, but even more so, this was always Schwarzenberg's principle when editing a text. The translation and Schwarzenberg's revision must have been finished before the beginning of September 1517, the time Lorenz Behaim complained about his task.²⁵ Behaim was not only little eager to execute that “hell of a job”, but he had a lot of difficulty with Schwarzenberg's

durch Magistrum Stephanum Vigilium (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1541). This set consists of 14 illustrations; among others, Steiner used the illustration of the title page of *De rebus memorandis* and the illustration of *Rerum memorandarum* III, 31–32 (1531, fol. XLI r) in the German *De officiis* as the first image for the third book (fol. LXIII r). Part of the illustrations of *De rebus memorandis*, however, belonged to the Petrarch-Master's *De remediis* set.

²¹ For Johann von Schwarzenberg cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg*, for the German translations of Cicero's works esp. 288–304; Radbruch G., “Verdeutschter Cicero. Zu Johann von Schwarzenbergs Officien-Übersetzung”, *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie* 35 (1942) 143–154; Herrmann E., *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Criminalrechts und der Gründung der protestantischen Kirche* (Leipzig: 1841); Glier I., “Johann von Schwarzenberg”, in *Verfasserlexikon* IV (1983) cols. 737–742; art. “Schwarzenberg und Hohenlandsberg, Johann Freiherr zu”, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 33 (1891) 305–306.

²² Behaim was not happy with the ‘inglorious’ job. Cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 291–292. The letter in which Behaim complains about it dates from 3 September 1517.

²³ For particularities of the translations cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 296 ff. Scheel considers it ‘höchstwahrscheinlich, dass Schwarzenberg selbst bei seiner Überarbeitung so gebessert hat, dass ein Zusammenhang mit dem lateinischen Texte ganz verloren ging’ (301).

²⁴ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii v.

²⁵ Herrmann, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 50–51.

method of revision, and with both Schwarzenberg's and Neuber's lack of classical scholarship. He says that in their translation one mistake provokes the other. Schwarzenberg has translated a German translation into another translation, and it was his (Behaim's) hopeless task to translate the second German translation into yet a third German one.²⁶ But Behaim did what he was asked to do, and he certainly prevented both translators from making a couple of errors. Anyway, by 1520 everything was ready. As Steiner says (in the first preface to *De officiis*, dating from August 1530), Schwarzenberg had given 'the translation in print, together with his accompanying verses and the illustrations, 10 years ago'.²⁷ The second preface draws exactly the same picture of the work's genesis.²⁸ We must conclude that in 1520 Schwarzenberg gave the manuscript, furnished with illustrations, to a thus far unknown printer/publisher. It is clear that the images were manuscript illustrations (drawings, coloured drawings, or miniature paintings), and Schwarzenberg asked the publisher to have them turned into woodcuts. Very probably, the well-to-do nobleman S. was also willing to assume the costs for the woodcuts.

So far, we do not know why the publishing process took so long, and why the publisher did not succeed in carrying out what Schwarzenberg had requested. Johann von Schwarzenberg did not live to see his book appear; he died on 11 October 1528. For a number of reasons I believe that the publisher that failed to print the German *De officiis* was the Augsburg company Sigmund Grimm and Marx Wirsung. First, there is a striking parallelism between the printing history of the German *De remediis* and that of the German *De officiis*, in which the same dates are involved. In both cases, the manuscripts were ready in 1520; and in both cases, the works appeared only after 1530 and at the *Officina* of Heinrich Steiner – who had bought woodcuts and other printing material from Grimm. And it is the

²⁶ Behaim: 'Cepi quandam duram provinciam revidendi translationem Ciceronis *Officiorum* de todesco in todescum, i.e. de malo in peius, quia video errorem parere errorem. Nam utrobique aliquando non sequuntur non modo textum, sed ne sensum quidem textus. Et sic quasi tertiam facio todescam'.

²⁷ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. ii v: 'Dergestalt das Buoch mit *sampt den figuren* und teütschen reymen (welche er selbst angeben und gedicht) vor zehen jaren zuo trucken geben' (emphasis mine).

²⁸ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii v: 'das obgemelt lateinisch Ciceronisch buoch [...] verteüschet hat [Johann von Schwarzenberg], dem auch von merer und besserer merckung und beheltigkeyt wegen *etlich figuren* unt teütsche versleyn, wie darynn funden wirt, zuogesetzt seind. *Das alles vollendet warde im jar als man nach der geburt Christi unsers säligmachers zelet fünffzehen hundert und im Zweyntzigsten*' (emphasis mine).

history of the publishing company Grimm and Wirsung²⁹ that explains why the process took so long, and why it failed in the end. The company was active between 1517 and 1521 (21 December); shortly after 21 December Marx Wirsung, who had mainly financed the *Officina*, died. Wirsung's widow, Agathe, and his son were not interested in continuing the enterprise, and they withdrew their capital. This brought Grimm into heavy financial difficulties; he partly changed the publishing program and partly was forced to reduce it. It seems that in the years to come Grimm was less and less able to execute expensive and demanding projects, such as the printing of lavishly illustrated books. The last book published by Grimm appeared in January 1525. Already by 1525 he was unable to pay his debts; finally – as late as October 1527 – he officially was declared bankrupt, and had to sell his houses and his *Officina*.

I think that Schwarzenberg gave the *De officiis* manuscript to Grimm because he was in close contact with him and had already offered him another manuscript to be published – his translation of Cicero's *De senectute*. This translation was finished in manuscript form in the same year as *De officiis* (1517).³⁰ As with *De officiis*, a first translation had been made by Johann Neuber, which was reworked by Schwarzenberg. Finally, Schwarzenberg had it corrected by Ulrich von Hutten, and added five illustrations.³¹ Probably because this book project was less demanding (the text was much shorter – only 22 folia, and there were only 5 woodcuts required), Grimm succeeded with this project: he had it printed in 1522.³² According to Röttinger, the illustrations were made by Hans Weiditz.³³ In this case the drawings must have been finished by 1521, the date Weiditz left Augsburg for Strassburg. Schwarzenberg's translation of

²⁹ Cf. Reske, *Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* 33–34; Schottenloher, "Grimm und sein Geschäftszusammenbruch"; Künast, "Sigmund Grimm und Marx Wirsung (Simprecht Ruff), 1517–1527".

³⁰ Scheel, however, thinks that the *De senectute* translation was made later than 1517 (*Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 293).

³¹ For the history of the genesis of the work cf. the preface in the first edition (as following footnote) fol. III r, and Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Teütsch Cicero* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XXII v.

³² Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Des hochberuempten Marci Tullii Ciceronis buechlein von dem Alter, durch herr Johan Neüber, Caplan zuo Schwartzenberg usz dem latein inn Teütsch gebracht*. [...] *Getruckt in der Kayserlichen stat Augspurg in kosten unnd verlegung Sigismundi Grymm* [...] 1522 (Augsburg, Sigmund Grimm: 1522). Cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 154.

³³ Röttinger H., *Hans Weiditz, der Petrarca-Meister* (Straßburg: 1904) 87, no. 44.

yet another work of Cicero, *De amicitia*, appeared in 1522.³⁴ The preface of the original edition and its date are preserved,³⁵ although no copy seems to survive.³⁶ Probably, this work was also published by Sigmund Grimm. Like the *De senectute* translation, it was a only small work,³⁷ and it seems that it was not accompanied by illustrations.³⁸ Scheel thinks that the first Cicero translation made by Neuber and Schwarzenberg was *De officiis*,³⁹ but it seems more plausible that the *De senectute* and the *De amicitia* came first. In the *De officiis* translation, both the technique and the paratextual equipment are much more sophisticated.⁴⁰

But what happened with the *De officiis* translation? When Grimm understood that he was no longer able to publish books (sometime between his financial collapse in spring 1525 and his bankruptcy in 1527), he must have returned the manuscript to Schwarzenberg, who did not succeed in finding another publisher until his death on 21 October 1528. It is likely that in 1529 or early 1530, a relative of Schwarzenberg brought the manuscript to Heinrich Steiner to have it printed in the nobleman's memory.⁴¹ This manuscript must have been Schwarzenberg's original, furnished with manuscript illustrations (or drawings or miniatures). Since the manuscript disappeared, one cannot say with certainty how many illustrations it contained. But, as one can see from the German verses, all of the emblematic chapters in Steiner's edition had already been designed by Schwarzenberg. Thus, it seems likely that Schwarzenberg already

³⁴ Cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 294; Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 162 (163 ff.); 'Scheel S. 294 nimmt einen Einzeldruck von 1522 an; dieser lässt sich indes nicht nachweisen'.

³⁵ von Schwarzenberg, *Teütsch Cicero* fol. <LXV>r. For the date ibidem: '[...] Amen. Und ist dise verteütschnng also got zuo lob und umm besserung willen der menschen volent worden. Im jar als man nach unsers säligmachers gepurt fünffzehnhundert und zwey und zweintzig jar zelet'.

³⁶ Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 294.

³⁷ In the *Teütsch Cicero* fols. <LXV>r–LXXIX v.

³⁸ In the *Teütsch Cicero*, anyway, there are no traces of illustrations.

³⁹ Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 293–294.

⁴⁰ The paratextual equipment stayed the same in Steiner's editions in *Der Teütsch Cicero*, [...] *Gedruckt und volendet in der Kayserlichen stat Augspurg* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534; 1535 [three times]; 1540 [two times]; 1545). 1st ed.: 20 January 1534 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 163); 2nd ed.: 2 January 1535 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 164); 3rd ed.: 4 March 1535 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 165); 4th ed. 2 June 1535 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 166); 5th ed. 2 January 1540 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 167); 6th ed.: 13 December 1540 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 168); 7th ed.: 3 November 1545 (cf. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikenrezeption* no. 169).

⁴¹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii r.

had in his manuscript each “emblem” accompanied by an illustration. Of course, the Augsburg publisher could have given the manuscript to a woodcutter or “Holzschnyder” to manufacture new blocks for all of the illustrations. This, however, would have been very expensive and would have taken quite some time, since some 100 new woodcuts were required. The efficient Steiner had a better idea. He decided to use a considerable number of illustrations from the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* set (some 35), as well as others from the stock of woodcuts he possessed. Only for the remaining chapters did he order new woodcuts. From a close analysis it appears that a number of illustrations were certainly made especially for the German *De officiis*.⁴² Concerning the new woodcut illustrations, it seems likely that the majority of them were carved after the example of the ones in Schwarzenberg's manuscript.

Thus, we get a mixed picture with regard to the question of who was responsible for the illustrations in the German *De officiis*. For the recycled images, Heinrich Steiner was the only person responsible; for the new ones, it was primarily Johann von Schwarzenberg (who had them designed), and secondarily Steiner (who ordered the woodcuts). In his monograph on the Petrarch-Master, Scheidig tended to overestimate the “originality” of the *De officiis* illustrations made by the Petrarch-Master: he thought that some of the woodcuts in *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* were originally made for the German *De officiis*.⁴³ Close analysis, however, proves that this is implausible.⁴⁴ In fact, it was always vice versa: the already existing *Artzney* illustrations were used in *De officiis*. Although the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* had not yet appeared, we can speak of a secondary use of its images in *De officiis*.

Steiner did not mind that Schwarzenberg figured as the main author of the emblem book. The Augsburg publisher gave him all of the credit for being the author – on the title page and in the two prefaces. Moreover, he had Schwarzenberg's portrait printed on the verso of the title page [Fig. 3].⁴⁵ Thus, from the beginning of the book the reader was invited to accept Schwarzenberg as the main author of the emblematic *De officiis*. Between 1510 and 1520, Schwarzenberg had worked on another

⁴² Cf. *infra*.

⁴³ Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters*, for example, 305, for the illustration belonging to *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* II, 102.

⁴⁴ See below.

⁴⁵ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. <i>v.



Fig. 3. Portrait of Johann von Schwarzenberg, ascribed to Albrecht Dürer. In the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen [...]* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531), verso of the title page.

emblematic project, his *Memorial der Tugent* [Fig. 4].⁴⁶ He composed emblematic poems for 100 ethical devices (*sententiae*) and – as with the German *De officiis* – had them illustrated with hand painted images or drawings. This work had the same fate as the German *De officiis*: the publisher, in all probability Sigmund Grimm, did not succeed in printing it, and in the end, after Schwarzenberg's death, in the late 1520s the whole thing came to Heinrich Steiner, who finally published the *Memorial der Tugent* in the so-called *Teütsch Cicero*.⁴⁷

*Emblematic Transformations of Cicero's De officiis: Readers' Guidance,
Strategies, Devices*

The central goal of this contribution, however, is not to describe in detail the complex production history of the German *De officiis*, but to analyze the ways in which the work of the Roman philosopher-rhetorician was transformed by its new organization as an “emblem book”; what the functions of the poems and the images were; the ways in which the illustrations guided the reader through the work; and what impact these illustrations had on the reception by the 16th-century German audience. In my opinion, the impact of both the poems and images was considerable: to a large extent, they determined the way in which the work was used and understood. Already the subdivision of the book into about 100 separate “emblems” altered the manner of reading: instead of by “linear reading”, the emblematic Cicero could be consulted in a fragmentary, random, and *ad hoc* manner, i.e. per “emblem”. The reader could open the work somewhere at random, meditate on certain emblematic units, and put it aside.

Also, it is important to notice that the poems and the images always come first. So it seems plausible that these parts of the “emblem” somehow prepared and influenced the reading of Cicero's prose text. In Schwarzenberg's

⁴⁶ Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Das Büchle Memorial – das ist ein angedänckung der Tugent, von herren Johannsen vonn Schwartzenberg yetz sätiger gedächtnus, etwo mit figuren und reümen gemacht* [...], in idem, *Der Teütsch Cicero*, [...] Gedruckt und volendet in der Kayserlichen stat Augspurg [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534; 1535 [three times]; 1540 [two times]; 1545) fol. XCVI r ff.; for this early emblem book, see Knappe J., “Mnemonik, Bildbuch und Emblematik im Zeitalter Sebastian Brants (Brant, Schwarzenberg, Alciati)”, in Bies W. – Jung H. (eds.), *Mnemosyne. Festschrift für Manfred Lurker zum 60. Geburtstag* (Baden-Baden: 1988) 133–178, esp. 146–149.

⁴⁷ In Steiner's edition, each of the 100 emblems comprised exactly one page. The layout of the poems differed: sometimes they were located under the image, sometimes above, sometimes above and under, and sometimes interwoven with the image in various ways. As with the German *De officiis*, the single emblems did not have proper titles.



Fig. 4. Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Memorial der Tugent*, title page, in idem, *Teütsch Cicero* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XCVI r.

and Steiner's opinion, *De officiis* had a high value for the moral education of German readers. They presented it as a "mirror of virtue" fabricated for 'the common good' ('gemeyns nutz') and 'the moral improvement of the [whole] German nation' ('und besserung willen Töutscher Nation').⁴⁸ The usage of the *De officiis* was envisioned as an exercise in virtue; the reader was supposed 'to exercise good behaviour and avoid all sins and moral shortcomings'.⁴⁹ This means that Schwarzenberg's interpretation also had a considerable religious aspect. In a sense, he turned Cicero's *De officiis* into a Christian manual of virtue. This appears from his emblematic poems, the glosses he inserted into Cicero's text,⁵⁰ and the images. The function of the images was complex and manifold. They prepared the reader's interpretation of Cicero's text and guided it in a certain direction; they helped him to understand the philosophical text – even though intellectually he was a layman – and to locate its meaning in the cultural and ideological context of the early 16th century; sometimes the images initiated a separate meditation—of course, in connection with the emblematic poems, a meditation that would influence the understanding and usage of Cicero's text; and of course, the images played an important role in the process of internalizing the moral, political, and religious messages of the singular emblems. For our analysis we take the first section of the second book of *De officiis* (emblems II, 1–14) as an example.

*Emblem II, 1 ("Arguing pro and contra"): Didactic Transformation,
Contextualization in 16th-Century Culture, and Topical Thinking*

Schwarzenberg constructed emblem II, 1⁵¹ from Cicero's preface to this book.⁵² In the second part of his preface, Cicero reflected on his philosophical method in *De officiis* and defended himself against the accusation that in

⁴⁸ As one can find in the second preface, see *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii v. Steiner too demonstratively claimed that he printed the German *De officiis* for the 'common good'. See the title page of his editions: 'gemeynem nutz zuo quot in Druck gegeben worden'.

⁴⁹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. iii v: 'zuo übung des guoten und vermeydung aller sunde und laster'.

⁵⁰ See below, the section "Schwarzenberg's Glosses as Emblematic Commentary and Guidance of Emblematic Meditation".

⁵¹ In Steiner's and Egenolff's publications, the singular emblems are not numbered. Numbering is in itself not a generic requirement or prerequisite of emblem books. One may compare Steiner's editions of Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, in which the singular emblems remain unnumbered. I introduced the numbering only for reasons of reference.

⁵² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLr–v.


the present work he would totally forget his philosophical identity as an adherent of the (Platonic) Academy, which aimed to argue in a sceptical way—i.e. to present arguments pro and contra while suspending (or withholding from) a definitive (personal) judgement. Instead, in *De officiis* Cicero comes with moral advice and clear rules, and he bluntly tells people what to do.⁵³ Cicero's counterargument is not particularly strong: he says that the one does not exclude the other, and that in *De officiis* he will act as a kind of *mitigated* sceptic. Schwarzenberg was apparently not convinced that this detailed discussion on philosophical dogmas would be interesting and educative for his German readership. Instead, he constructed an emblem *in praise* of arguing pro and contra as the best philosophical method of finding out 'the truth': 'Durch widerwertig argument/ Wirt wars und unwars recht erkent'.⁵⁴ In doing so, he upends not only Cicero's argument in the preface, but the philosophical approach of *De officiis* in general.

Schwarzenberg's main goal is not to explain Cicero's thoughts in detail and as faithfully as possible, but to teach his German readership – which, of course, did not primarily consist of scholars or very learned men – the basics of philosophical thinking. Sixteenth-century scholars would have been well acquainted with the method of arguing pro and contra; in fact, in the 16th century this was a school exercise in rhetoric, as it had been in Cicero's time. On the other hand, for laypeople to understand this method would mean important progress. That is why Schwarzenberg, maybe surprisingly, spelled it out in Cicero's prose text: 'the philosophers of the Academy [...] who argue about all things in both directions, that they are such and so, and also that they are not such and so, and that all things are doubtful, and who want that one should not know anything for sure [...]'.⁵⁵ Although it is not indicated in the text, these words were not Cicero's, but Schwarzenberg's alone. With his didactic goal in mind, Schwarzenberg changed Cicero's text and produced a mixture of translation and commentary.

The image [Fig. 5] was meant to underpin Schwarzenberg's didactic message, i.e. that to argue pro and contra is the best philosophical method for finding the truth. The illustration comments on the following prose text and on the poem as well, and in doing so it mainly uses two strategies.

⁵³ *De officiis* II, 7–8.

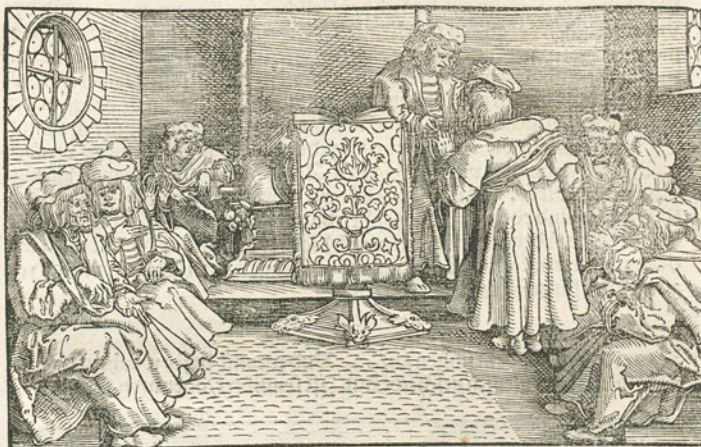
⁵⁴ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLr.

⁵⁵ Ibidem: 'den Philosophis Academicis [...] die alle ding auff beide ort, das die also und nicht also sein, disputieren und zweiflich machen und wöllen, dass man nichts gewisslich wissen mög [...]'.


Beyfürlicher werck

XL

Durch widerwertig argument/ Wirt wars/vnd vnwars/recht erkent.



Das ander teil der vorred zeigt vrsach

an/warüb Cicero in disem büch nichts widerwertig schreib/
vnd wie auf widerwertigen disputationen/wars
vn vnwars erfunden werden.

Dieweil ich den Philosophis Academicis/in disen meinen schrifften anhang/die alle ding auf Gede ort/das die also vnd nit also sein/disputieren vn zweif felich machen/vnd wöllen das mā nichts gewislich wissen müge/vnd doch durch mich/in diser meiner lere/vn andern meinen büchern vnzweyffentlich regel zu tugentlichem lebe gegeben werden/möchten mir die künstlichen gütten redner zümessen / als ob solchs beyeinander nit besteen könte/Sonder das ich in solcher beschreybung der gebürlichen werck/gang vnfürsichtig/vnbestendig/vnd mir selbst widerwertig seinn solte :c. Darzü ist mein antwort/ich wolt das die selben ansehter/mein meinung recht verständen/ich bin nit der/des gemüt vn bestendig/vnd in allen dingen so zweyffentlich sey/das mein vernunft gar nichts für bewertlich anneme. Dann was were das für ein vernunft/oder das noch mer ist/was wer das für ein leben/dadurch alle disputierfug/die zu vernunftfrigen tugentsamen leben führen vnd leyten/abgestellt wurden?

G iij Als

Fig. 5. Academic promotion after the *disputatio*. Emblem II, 1 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...]. (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner, 1531) fol. XL r.

First, it “translates” Cicero’s text (and Schwarzenberg’s derivate) for the German audience by locating it in contemporary society and culture. Second, it evaluates it by connecting it with a traditional topical system that goes back to Graeco-Roman antiquity. The image displays a ceremony that was easy to recognize for 16th-century readers: the promotion of a university student as a doctor after a successful exam, the *disputatio*. In the *disputatio*, the candidate defended a certain thesis against a number of opponents, in front of a jury of *professores* and *doctores*. In the image, a university professor (in the center, standing next to his cathedra) decorates a successful candidate with the *insignia* of his new dignity – the doctor’s beret and the doctor’s ring. On the side walls of the room one can see the jury of university professors and *doctores*.

The identification of the philosophical method of arguing pro and contra in the image with the contemporary doctorate ceremony persuades the reader that this method is very rewarding: the person who exercises it not only gets to know the truth, but achieves a respectable status academically, socially, and ideologically. In this sense, the image fits extremely well with Schwarzenberg’s emblem ‘Durch widerwertig argument/ Wirt wars und unwars recht erkent’, and it enriches its meaning and impact.

This effect is strengthened by the second strategy. The fact that the academic jury consists of exactly seven members is no coincidence. Probably it is an application of the traditional topical concept of the seven wise men,⁵⁶ i.e. the wisest men of the Greek world, as mentioned, for example, in Plato’s *Protagoras*.⁵⁷ This topical concept – which does not appear in either Cicero’s text or Schwarzenberg’s poem – is introduced by the image as an authorization of the then-current academic system in general, and of the doctor’s promotion in particular. It suggests to the reader not only that academic positions are taken by wise men, but also that academic honours are conferred by capable people, to worthy candidates, and for good reasons.

Although the image fits so well, it was originally not made for the German *De officiis*. It was designed by the Petrarch-Master as an illustration to *De remediis* chapter I, 45, “De magisterio”, or, in the German translation, “Von Magisterlicher Wirdigkait” (“On the master’s degree”)

⁵⁶ Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* 94. Engels J., *Die Sieben Weisen* (Munich: 2010); Snell B., *Leben und Meinungen der Sieben Weisen. Griechische und lateinische Quellen* (Munich: 1952); Barkowski O., art. “Sieben Weise”, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* II A/2 (Stuttgart: 1923) col. 2243.

⁵⁷ Protagoras 343A: Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Solon, Cleobulus, Myson, and Chilon.

[Fig. 6a and b].⁵⁸ In this chapter, Petrarch's *Ratio* presents Stoic and Christian arguments ('remedies') against being too proud of having achieved a master's degree:

JOY: The master's degree has been conferred upon me.

REASON: I admit I would prefer knowledge to have been conferred upon you, because nothing is more disgraceful than an uneducated and ignorant master. [...] To be worthy as a master, you must have [...] proven yourself dutiful, humble, and willing to learn [...]. A meaningless master's degree has kept many from being true masters [...].⁵⁹

It appears that in *De officiis* Heinrich Steiner used the illustration in a sense contrary to that of the *De remediis* chapter. At first glance, this may seem absurd. But one must not forget that there did not exist a stable relationship between Petrarch's text and the Petrarch-Master's illustrations. For the most part, the Petrarch-Master's inventions were highly original, partly even unconventional, and thus far they had never appeared in print, which means that – except for a few people, including Steiner – nobody had seen them in combination with the text.⁶⁰ In choosing this image, Steiner demonstrated his creativity. He detected some interesting connections between the topic of the image and Schwarzenberg's emblem. It is a telling detail that it did not bother Steiner that the image had little to do with Cicero's *De officiis* text: the importance of arguing pro and contra was not Cicero's message, and in Cicero's time there were, of course, no universities or doctor promotions. It would be interesting to know what image Schwarzenberg (whose manuscript unfortunately got lost) originally had in mind. It would not surprise me if it were one of the common medieval *disputatio* scenes: two philosophers or clerics engaging in dialogue with each other, with the accompanying characteristic hand gestures. With regard to its commentating effect, however, the Petrarch-Master's image is much more impressive. The solemn academic ritual, combined with the iconography of the seven wise men, constitutes highly positive associations that would stimulate the reader to absorb the message and store it in his memory.

⁵⁸ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book I, fol. LX r.

⁵⁹ Petrarch, *Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul. A Modern English Translation of De remediis utriusque fortunae*, with a Commentary by C.H. Rawski, 5 vols. (Bloomington – Indianapolis: 1991), vol. I, 146.

⁶⁰ Steiner has used the image of the doctorate ceremony in yet another context, as an illustration of the chapter "De intelligentia" in his edition of the German translation of Petrarch's *De rebus memorandis* (Augsburg: 1531), fol. XV v.



Fig. 6. "The master's degree". Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augs-
 burg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. LX r (private collection).

*Emblem II, 2 ("Fools"): Narrenschiff Guidance
for Vernacular Readers of Philosophy*

Interestingly, Schwarzenberg rebuilt not only Cicero's preface, but also his *partitio* (a kind of table of contents) into an emblem.⁶¹ Cicero says that in the present book (2), he will not deal with the *honestum* (he had done so in book 1), but with the so-called *utile* ('the useful'), i.e. the pleasant things in life ('commoda vitae'), such as wealth, possessions, food, entertainment, and so on.⁶² Using this "table of contents", Schwarzenberg constructs the second emblem of book 2: 'The honest and just (*honestum, iustum*; or honesty and justice) are indissolubly/ connected with the useful (*utile*)./ Whoever does not believe that this is true/ Totally lacks intelligence and religious piety', in the German original: 'Das Erbar hangt dem nutzen an,/ Dass solchs kein mensch gescheiden kann./ Und wer nit diser warheyt glaubt,/ Ist frumbkeyt oder witz beraubt'.⁶³

The image was especially designed for the *De officiis* emblem: it shows two chests indissolubly connected with each other by heavy iron chains [Fig. 7a and b].⁶⁴ The chest to the left symbolizes 'the honest' ('Erbarkeit/ Gerechtigkeit'), and the chest to the right 'the useful' ('Nutz'), as is unmistakably denoted by the German inscriptions. On each side, two persons draw on the chests with the intention of separating them. As the poem already indicates, these people are fools. In the image, their stupidity is demonstrated by two iconographic devices: they are blindfolded and wear donkey's ears. These devices stem from Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*.⁶⁵ For example, in *Narrenschiff* no. 6, "On the education of children",⁶⁶ the image shows a father who fails in educating his offspring: he is blindfolded and wears donkey's ears while his sons are fighting with knife and sword [Fig. 8]. The image of emblem II, 2 probably dates back to an invention by Schwarzenberg, who was well acquainted with Brant's *Narrenschiff*.⁶⁷ The image comments in a very distinct way on the content of book 2: it states

⁶¹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fols. XL v–XLI r; Cicero, *De officiis* II, 9–10.

⁶² *Ibidem* II, 9.

⁶³ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XL v.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ *Narrenschiff*, ed. F. Zarncke (Darmstadt: 1964).

⁶⁶ "Von ler der kind", *ibidem*, 1st ed., 8 (no. 6): 'der ist in narheyt gantz erblindt/ Derniet mag ach than, das syn kyndt [...]'.
⁶⁷ Cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 316; Knappe, "Mnemonik, Bildbuch und Emblemantik".

Das Ander thayl

Als aber eyn theyl Philosophi sagen / weye etliche ding on allen zweyffel ge-
wyß / vnd etliche vngewyß seynd / von den selben bin ich der massen geschwyde
das ich etliche ding für bewertlich / vnd etliche für vnberwertlich halte / Wann
was kan mich verhindern / das ich bewertliche ding nit annehmen / vnd dye
vnberwertlichen verachten vnd straffen solt. Wo ich aber on vernünfftig
güt visach / etwas für gewyß vnd vnzweyffentlich hylte / möcht ich hochmä-
tig vñ fräulich / das von eynem yeden weysen setz sein soll / vermerckt wer-
den / So disputieren genante vnser Philosophi / Academics / vorgemelter
maß / von allen sachen / das die also vnd nit also sein künden / auch nit vnün-
lich / wann on das die warheyt eynes yeden dings / nit verstanden werden
möchte / Weye dann in vnsern Büchern Academics (als ich meyne) genög-
lich funden wirdt. Lieber sunne Cicero / weyewol du in der aller eltesten /
kläresten / vnd edelsten Philosophen / damit sich deyn Meyster Cratippus
vergleycht / vñ der ein merer ist lerneß / Noch wolt ich / das dir dise mein lere
dye den ewern aller nechst ist / auch nit vnbekant weren / Damit will ich yez
zu meynen fürgesetzten leren treten.

Cicero vers-
mannt syne
sone zu dem
steyß dyser
lere

Das erbar hangt dem nutzen an / Vnd wer nit dyser warheyt glaubt /
Das solchs keyn mensch gescheide kan Ist frumkeyt / oder wyß geraubt.



Fig. 7a. The honest and the useful interconnected. Emblem II, 2 of the German *De officiis*. *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...]
(Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XL v.



Fig. 7b. Detail (private collection).

that the central issue is the interconnectivity between the honest, the just, and the useful. Whoever does not understand this is a fool.

Schwarzenberg's emblematic readers' guidance is certainly not pointless. He rightly guessed that the philosophical equation *honestum = iustum = utile* would be difficult to understand for lay readers. That's why he used the strong iconographic device of the *Ship of Fools*. The image of donkey-eared and blindfolded persons puts before the eyes of the readers what is foolish behaviour or thinking. The underlying commenting strategy is "exclusive": the image excludes the way in which one should *not* understand Cicero's text. Readers who do not understand the equation are, in a sense, prohibited from proceeding with the philosophical meditation of the *De officiis* emblems. This method of educating the German lay readers was as drastic as it was probably effective: no reader wants to be called a fool. Thus, in all likelihood all readers agreed with the image's message and internalized the philosophical equation as a dogmatic truth. Even if they did not understand it theoretically, they would accept it.

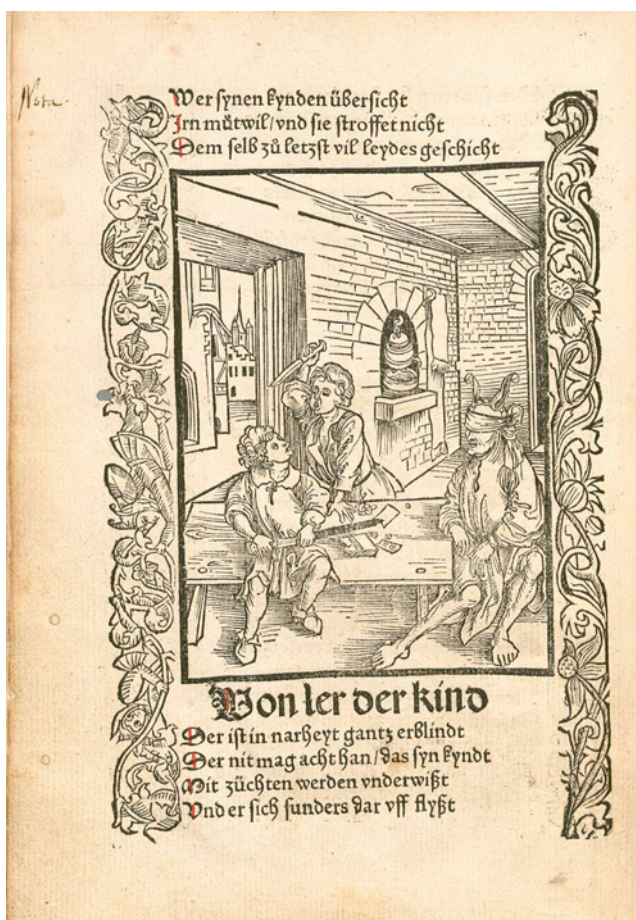


Fig. 8. "On the education of children" – "Von ler der kind".
 Illustration to Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff* (Basel, Johann
 Bergmann: 1494) no. 6.

Interestingly, Schwarzenberg and Steiner repeat the emblem in *De officiis*, book 3, with the same verses and the same image.⁶⁸ There again, Cicero talks about the relationship between the honest and the useful. Why this repetition? The most plausible explanation is a didactic one. Schwarzenberg (and Steiner) probably ascribed to the emblem such an important didactic function that they considered it sensible to repeat it. In the third

⁶⁸ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. LXIII r.

book, the emblem is enriched by Cicero's description of the Stoic view on the same issue. It looks as if the image is repeated with the purpose of refreshing the required basic knowledge, while the following text of Cicero's *De officiis* is presented as an in-depth philosophical discussion.

Schwarzenberg had already applied the "strategy of the *Ship of Fools*" in his German translation of Cicero's *De senectute*, which appeared in Augsburg in 1522. The first illustration – which accompanies Cicero's preface – has a poem composed by Schwarzenberg: 'Vil nachteyls uns dis buechlein sagt./ Di *mancher narr* vom Alter klagt./ Doch weit von aller weysen muoth/ Den erbers alter kumpt zuo guot' – 'This booklet tells us of many disadvantages/ of old age *many fools* complain about./ But on the contrary: honest old age/ Contributes to the high spirit of all wise men'.⁶⁹ Different from *De officiis*, emblem II, 2, the image shows the wise men (Scipio, Laelius, and Cato), and only the poem mentions the fools. It is revealing for the underlying method that in this short poem, Schwarzenberg "translates" the content of Cicero's philosophical treatise for the 16th-century German audience in terms of *fools versus wise men*. In fact, Cicero's *De senectute* deals with four general prejudices about old age and – via the dialogue character of the wise man, Cato the Elder – proves them to be wrong: (1) old age withdraws men from activity; (2) old age weakens the body; (3) old age takes away all sensual pleasures; and (4) old age is not far from death.⁷⁰ According to Schwarzenberg's introductory poem, it is the fools who share these prejudices. Through this device, in the very first lines Schwarzenberg succeeds in guiding his readers in the direction he wanted.

*Emblems II, 3 and II, 4 ("Advantages and disadvantages of man's society"):
Emotionalization of the Reader, Maximization of Identification Potential,
and Encyclopedic Representation*

After the "table of contents", Cicero – as one may expect from a philosophical treatise – defines his topic (i.e. the 'useful things', 'utilia') and divides it into certain philosophical categories (animate vs. inanimate; rational vs. irrational).⁷¹ The emblem Johann von Schwarzenberg constructs from this passage (II, 3), however, largely ignores these categories, and draws

⁶⁹ von Schwarzenberg, *Des hochberuempten Marci Tullii Ciceronis* fol. II v; idem, *Teütsch Cicero* fol. XXII r.

⁷⁰ Cf. McKendrick, *The Philosophical Books of Cicero* (London: 1989) 206.

⁷¹ *De officiis* II, 11 ff.

on a passage wherein Cicero states that the majority of useful things are created by man in the framework of *civilized society*.⁷² Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem 'Allhie synd wyr gar klare sag/ Wye mensch dem menschen nutzen mag'⁷³ directly points to the image [Fig. 9a and b], which was invented especially for the German *De officiis*: it shows the various ways in which man profits from civilized society. The most important scene is shown in the foreground: a German patrician and his wife take care of an ill old man who could well be the father of one of them. The patrician gives him drink; his wife bears a jug. The ill old man is too weak to hold the glass himself. The ill man's bed is obviously situated in a palace; a large opening (as in a loggia) opens up the view onto a landscape background in which several activities of a civilized society are taking place: architecture (the building of a castle, or possibly of a town), mining, agriculture (a peasant with a pair of oxen, drawing a plough), and hunting (of a bear).

The image certainly illustrates Cicero's text. Nevertheless, it has different functions, and it partly guides the reader in a different direction. First of all, Cicero's philosophical categories are in the image almost irrelevant. Second, *health care* is clearly presented as the most important activity, whereas in Cicero's text it is mentioned only as one activity among many others.⁷⁴ For the *inventio* of the image, health care was obviously chosen for its *emotionalizing quality*. This effect is even strengthened by the fact that health care is blurred with caring for old people, and for parents. Third, because of its emotionalizing features, the image has a certain *meditative quality*: it stimulates meditation on the topic. It instructs the reader: Think about the ways in which man helps his fellow man. Furthermore, through its foreground scene it invites the reader to enrich his meditation with Christian thoughts on charity. Fourth, for the *inventio* of the image certain human activities were selected, whereas others were neglected. One can discern two strategies behind the selection. One was probably to maximize the identification potential for German readers. The inventor selected health care, architecture, agriculture, mining, and hunting, while he excluded navigation,⁷⁵ aqueducts, regulation of rivers, irrigation

⁷² Ibidem II, 12–13.

⁷³ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLI v.

⁷⁴ *De officiis* II, 12 'valetudinis curatio', II, 15 'aegris subvenire'.

⁷⁵ Ibidem II, 12 'navigatio'.

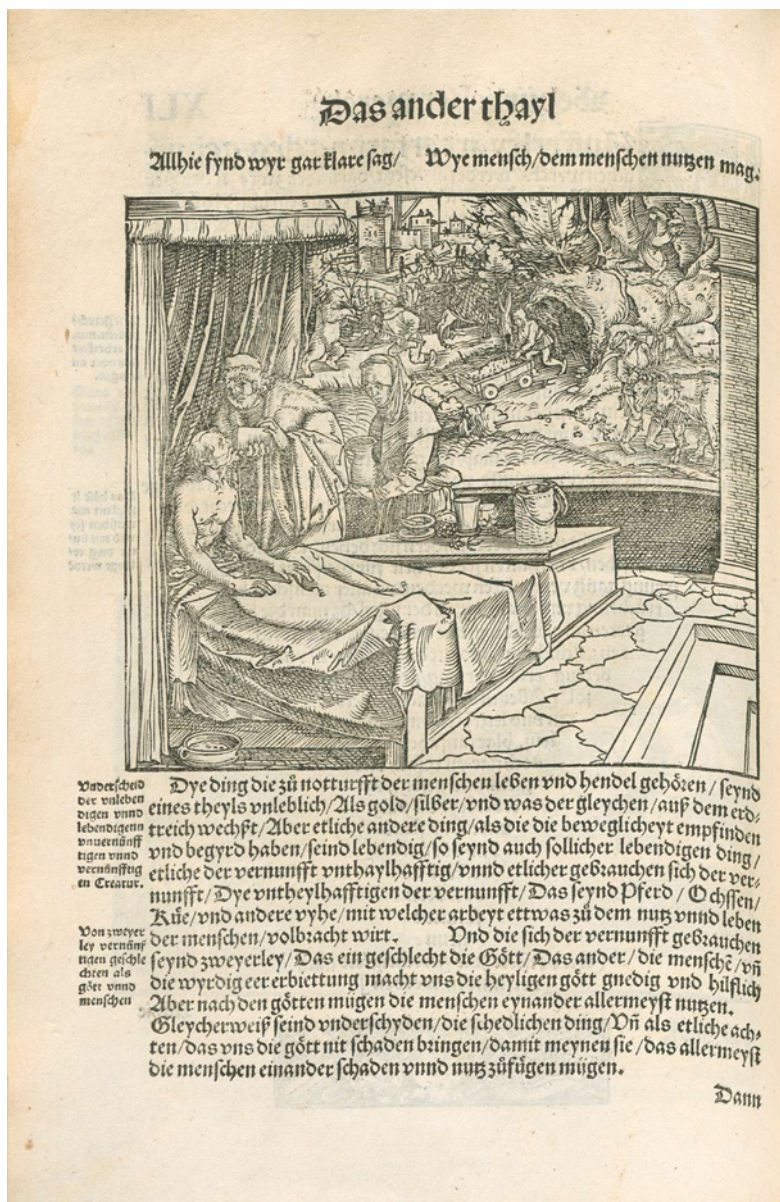


Fig. 9a. A German patrician and his wife take care of an ill old man. Emblem II, 3 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehö- rungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLI v.

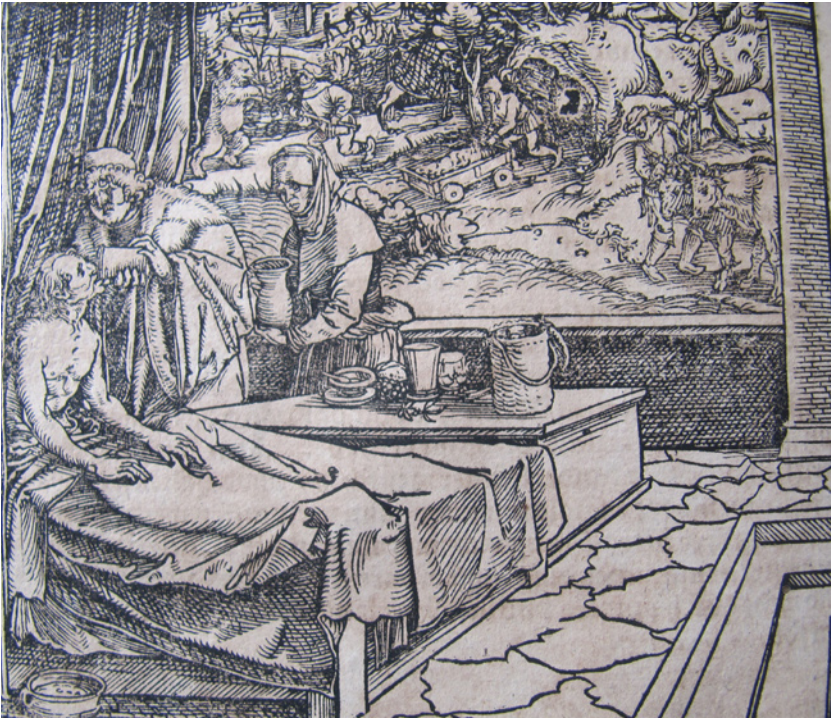


Fig. 9b. Detail (private collection).

of fields, the building of harbours, and the construction of dikes.⁷⁶ If Schwarzenberg was the inventor of the image, he probably would think of the citizens of Southern German towns (such as Bamberg, Nuremberg, or Augsburg) as his ideal readers. For them, shipping, harbours, aqueducts, irrigation, and dikes would probably be less important than the other activities mentioned in Cicero's text. The same strategy – to increase identification potential – is the reason why the person taking care of an ill fellow man is rendered as a German patrician. The other strategy is to simplify the image. Cicero himself remarked that with his enumeration he has been too long.⁷⁷ The image's selection is, in fact, already a kind of reaction to Cicero's self-comment. Interestingly, in the German translation Schwarzenberg has deleted Cicero's self-comment and the adherent

⁷⁶ Ibidem II, 14 'ductus aquarum, derivationes fluminum, agrorum inrigationes, moles oppositas fluctibus, portus manu factos [...]'.
⁷⁷ Ibidem II, 16 'Longiores hoc loco sumus quam necesse est'.

passage, some eight lines in total.⁷⁸ He probably considered such reflections to be less adequate for his emblematic presentation.⁷⁹ The emblemization of a text, after all, aimed to provide a compendious presentation. The *inventio* of the image achieves the required impression.

Emblem II, 4 is constructed as the pendant of II, 3. It shows the negative effects of human society and demonstrates that man is the worst enemy of his fellow man. The image was especially designed for Schwarzenberg's emblematic chapter [Fig. 10a and b].⁸⁰ Its main strategy is (as in II, 3) the emotionalization of the reader. Cicero—just like his source, the peripatetic philosopher Dicaearchus—had war and rebellion in mind.⁸¹ Instead of a large battle scene, the image prefers to demonstrate the negative effects of fellow man on an *individual level*: it depicts the raid of a farm. As it seems, all people have been killed or will be killed, while the farmhouse is burning down. Interestingly, Cicero himself is very brief about the negative aspects of civilization, since they do not essentially contribute to his argument. The illustration, in fact, refers only to the second half of paragraph 16.

Schwarzenberg, however, turns it into an emblem and combines it with four paragraphs that develop a different argument: that cooperation between human beings is of the utmost importance, and if virtue is to be successful, it must be combined with cooperation (17–20). It is difficult to see what the image would contribute to this argument. The choice for depicting a raid does not seem to have been inspired by the wish to explain Cicero's treatise. On the contrary: one may say that Schwarzenberg simply used Cicero's text in order to construct an educative emblem. As an emblem, II, 4 is convincing, especially in combination with II, 3. The combination gives the impression that Schwarzenberg had an educative goal in mind that one could label as "*encyclopedic*". It seems that the image invites the reader to use this passage of *De officiis* as an encyclopedia of civilization.

⁷⁸ Schwarzenberg deleted the following passage (*De officiis* II, 16): 'Longiores hoc loco sumus quam necesse est. Quis est enim, cui non perspicua sint illa, quae pluribus verbis a Panaetio commemorantur, neminem neque ducem bello neque principem domi magnas res et salutares sine hominum studiis gerere potuisse. Commemoratur ab eo Themistocles, Pericles, Cyrus, Agesilaus, Alexander, quos negat sine adiumentis hominum tantas res efficere potuisse. Utitur in re non dubia testibus non necessariis'.

⁷⁹ It seems to be no coincidence that Schwarzenberg also deleted other, similar passages, e.g. in *De officiis* II, 20: 'Quae si longior fuerit oratio, cum magnitudine utilitatis comparetur; ita fortasse etiam brevior videbitur'.

⁸⁰ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLII v.

⁸¹ *De officiis* II, 16 'bellis aut seditionibus'.

Das ander thayl

Dann wer ist der/dem dyse ding nit klar vnd offensbar sein? Als auch die selben von Pannecio mit vil woitten angezogen werden/sprechen/Keynem fürsten im streyt/vnd keynem regierer da haymen/mügen grosse heylsame ding/on fleys vnd hilff der menschen/widerfaren. Es werden auch von Pannecio die fürsten/als Themistocles/Pericles/Cyrus/Agessilaus/vnd Alexander/angezogen/den on hilff der menschen/solch grof sach zu volbringen/nit müglich geweest were/Vnnd geprauchet sych Pannecius deshalb vil zeugschafft vnnnd bewerung/die in eyner solchen offebarn vnzweyffelichen sach nit not ist.

Manch ding das menschlich leben nött/Noch mer ein mensch dz ander tödt.



Aber es ist zu mercken/gleicherweys/als wir mit gunst vnnnd eynhelligkeyt der menschen grossen nutz vberkommen/Also wirdt auch keyn geßtere dürtigkeyt vnd zurstörung/dann die ein mensch dem andern züfügt/sunde. Es ist ein büch durch den Philosophum Dicaearchum / eynen grossen vnnnd kunstreichen Peripateticum/gemacht/darinnen vilerley weys/von verderblichkeyt der menschen angezogen werden/als mit der flutt/Pestilenz/Verwüstung/durch sterben vñ hunger/auch tödtung/die von der mäniglicher thyer geschyhet/die sich etwo also züsamen gehäufft/das sie eyn ganz volck vertriben oder abgethan haben. Vnnnd erzelt darnach/das dannest vil mehr leut/von vngestümigkeyt wegen der menschen/inn streyten vnnnd auffläuffen/wann durch alle andere verderbligkeyt vertilgt seind.

Sonst

Fig. 10a. The raid of a farm. Emblem II, 4 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLII v.



Fig. 10b. Detail (private collection).

Emblem II, 5: Machiavellization of Cicero

The next emblems show even more fundamental reinterpretations of Cicero's text by Schwarzenberg's and Steiner's emblematicizations. A very spectacular one is emblem II, 5 [Fig. 11a and b].⁸² It is drawn from *De officiis* II, 20–22. In this passage Cicero deals with the question how a politician can positively influence people so that they will act in a way favourable to him, i.e. that they will support him, especially with regard to political matters, such as elections and decisions in the Senate. Cicero lists seven means (or scenarios): (1) that people personally love a politician; (2) that people respect a politician because they consider him to be virtuous; (3) that people think that a politician somehow deserves good luck (fortune); (4) that people trust a politician and are convinced that he will represent their interests well; (5) that people are afraid of a statesman or ruler; (6) that people expect a certain (material, financial) advantage from him; and (7) that people are bribed by a politician, or paid for their

⁸² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fols. XLIII v–XLIII r.



Fig. 11a. Bribery. Emblem II, 5 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII v.



Fig. 11b. Detail (private collection).

support.⁸³ Cicero is most interested in the first four means, which he considers to be effective and fruitful. He disagrees with the fifth because it is counterproductive and dangerous, and despises the sixth and the seventh, since he considers them to be morally abject.⁸⁴ According to Cicero, if a politician wants to influence the people, virtue should be the guiding principle. A state that depends on tyranny or bribery is in a very bad condition.

The emblem, however, converts Cicero's message into its opposite. The poem promises to explain 'Wo von kompt Gunst, dienst und gewalt'.⁸⁵ The image [Fig. 11b] shows two patricians sitting behind a sumptuous table. The elder patrician hands over a pouch of money to the younger: thus, an act of bribery is obviously depicted here. From the image, in combination with Schwarzenberg's poem, the reader must

⁸³ Cf. *De officiis* II, 21; the list is repeated in II, 22.

⁸⁴ In II, 22 he says that he first will discuss the means (1)–(6), and that – since sometimes one cannot avoid it – he will come back to bribery later. Interestingly, however, he does not come back to it.

⁸⁵ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLIII v.

conclude that bribery is the most, if not the only, effective method to bring forth goodwill, favour, and power. This is very pragmatic and cynical advice, Machiavellian in its essence, and is totally alien to Cicero's *De officiis*, which is always based on the belief in virtue and honesty. Could it be that the author of this Machiavellian reinterpretation of *De officiis* is Johann von Schwarzenberg? Is this the moral education of the German nation he had in mind? This is hardly plausible, especially if one keeps an eye on Schwarzenberg's prefaces and on his other works, all of which were written in order to promote virtue.

If one closely analyzes the emblem, it appears that the Machiavellian interpretation is caused predominantly by the image. It is taken – again – from the *De remediis* set (I, 82),⁸⁶ and thus the person responsible for its choice is Heinrich Steiner. Interestingly, the Petrarch-Master did not intend to depict an act of bribery. Petrarch's chapter deals with "De bono patre", "On a good father". *Ratio* develops arguments about why one should not enjoy too much the fact that one has a good father. The *inventio* of the image focuses on a specific behaviour characteristic of 'a good father': to ensure a good education for his child. Part of the good education of the well-to-do was the *peregrinatio Academica*. Thus, when a son was about to leave for his *peregrinatio Academica*, his father would organize a lavish farewell dinner and furnish him with a sufficient amount of money.⁸⁷ This is what is shown in the image.

Somehow Steiner got the idea that this image would perfectly illustrate Schwarzenberg's emblem II, 5. Here, again, he proves to be a very creative person, with a strong inclination toward pragmatic thinking. He was fascinated by two aspects of the image: the glass of wine and the pouch of money. They seemed to render perfectly two effective "virtues" applied by patricians in order to achieve their goals: generosity/open-handedness, and hospitality. Through his daily experience Steiner was well aware that these were the means to generate political friendships. One must keep in mind that Steiner worked in Augsburg, a town that was dominated by very rich patricians, such as the Fugger and the Welser families. Using enormous sums of money, the Fugger had even recently proven themselves to be able to "buy" the Roman Emperor Charles V. Such practices probably represent the background

⁸⁶ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück I, 82.*

⁸⁷ Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* 140, pointed correctly to the traveler's bag to the right of the son. Scheidig thought that the son just had returned from travelling. In that case, however, the pouch of money would not make much sense.

against which the Augsburger Steiner transferred Cicero's *De officiis* passage into a "Machiavellian" emblem.⁸⁸

Emblems II, 6–8 ("On Tyranny"): Political Transformations

However, the next three emblems (II, 6–8),⁸⁹ all about the topic of tyranny, are not at all Machiavellian. All three offer moral lessons against tyranny. Cicero himself was very much occupied with the topic, since he composed *De officiis* in the aftermath of the assassination of the "tyrant" Julius Caesar (March 44 BC), between 9 October and 9 December 44 BC. Thus, the scenario '*political influence caused by fear*' in *De officiis* leads to an in-depth discussion.⁹⁰ The historical impact of the assassination of Caesar was well understood by Johann von Schwarzenberg. This can be deduced from the fact that while Cicero, when talking about Caesar, deliberately avoids mentioning his name ('the man that [...]', 'he'), Schwarzenberg in his translation always inserts Caesar's name ('Keyser Julius') and sometimes adds historical notes in square brackets that leave no room for misunderstanding.⁹¹ Although each line in the relevant *De officiis* passage reflects Cicero's frustration with the present state of the Roman Empire, his argument is predominantly presented in a descriptive way; Schwarzenberg's emblems, however, are much more prescriptive and teach moral lessons.

The first one is 'Who kills a tyrant and a dog that suffers from rabies, will be praised': 'Tirannen und ein hund der tobt/ Wer die ertödt, der

⁸⁸ It may be that in his "Machiavellian" interpretation, Steiner was partly inspired by a mistranslation of the Latin in the German *De remediis*. The title of chapter was erroneously translated as "On a noble father" (instead of "On a good father"). A 'noble father' was, of course, a patrician, and in the image one could see a patrician sitting at his lavish table. Therefore, Steiner may have interpreted the scene just as the display of typically patrician lifestyle and behaviour.

⁸⁹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fols. XLIII r–XLVIr.

⁹⁰ *De officiis* II, 23–29.

⁹¹ Cf. *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLIII r: 'so ist es doch jungst durch den tod des Keyzers Julii [der vom Römischen rath in Capitolio erstochen] offenbar worden [...]'; fol. XLV v: 'dem {sc. Sulla} ein ander, das ist Julius Caesar, nachgefolget, der in unbillichen sachen unnder vil schnöde sygen, nit allayn die güter der eynigen Burger, öffentlich verkauffet [...]'. Cicero alludes to Caesar but does not mention his name in other passages of the *De officiis* as well, e.g. in III, 83. In such cases, Schwarzenberg always tries to make the text more explicit, and he adds Caesar's name. Cf. (III, 83): 'Wiewol nun Julius dise über gethon, wirt er doch vonden, die er vergeweltiget hat, ein vatter genant'.

wirt gelobt'.⁹² In the relevant *De officiis* passage (II, 23–24) Cicero does not praise Brutus and his comrades. However, the image – which was especially made for this emblem – shows the murder of Caesar, which took place 'in the Roman Senate', just as Schwarzenberg remarked in his commenting note [Fig. 12a and b].⁹³ The Roman 'rath' (Senate) is rendered by the three men to the right side of Caesar; the man in front is Senator Cicero, who is depicted as an old man with a long beard. In order to understand this, one may compare the woodcut with that depicting the murder of Cicero that was printed by Steiner in the *Life of Cicero*, as part of Schwarzenberg's *Teütsch Cicero* [Fig. 13].⁹⁴ In the *Life of Cicero*, Schwarzenberg had drawn from Cicero's death a moral emblem: 'Many times pious men suffer because of saying the truth [...] – 'Umm warheytt offt der frumm leydt noth,/ Das auch verursacht disen tod./ Und ist doch besser leyden pein/ Dann inn der hilff der bösen seyn'.⁹⁵

In the *De officiis* emblem II, 6 Caesar is rendered through symbolic attributes as an abominable tyrant: in his hands he holds an instrument of torture. Instead of thumbs or fingers, the hearts of his subjects are clamped. Moreover, Caesar suppresses with his feet a kneeling subject whom he has silenced, as the lock on the subject's mouth indicates. The lock pierces the tongue so that the punished person is henceforth unable to speak. 'To put a lock on one's mouth' was a current proverbial expression [Fig. 14].⁹⁶ Brutus, disguised as a traveller, is entering the scene from the left and is already drawing his sword. The image thus depicts a highly dramatic moment that Schwarzenberg chose in order to emotionalize the reader, and to morally educate him through this emotionalization. The image leaves no room for nuance or doubt – it demonstrates both Caesar's obvious crime and just punishment.

The following emblem (II, 7)⁹⁷ is on the same topic but exploits the strategy of emotionalizing the reader even more. The image shows a most cruel act, the murder and decapitation of a person that was obviously ordered by the powerful ruler to the left, who sits on his throne [Fig. 15].⁹⁸ Because of the kind of crown he is wearing, the reader understands that the ruler must be a Roman Emperor. Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem

⁹² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLIII r.

⁹³ Ibidem; cf. above.

⁹⁴ (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XIX v.

⁹⁵ Ibidem.

⁹⁶ Röhrich L., *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten* (Munich: 2001), vol. V, 1368.

⁹⁷ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLIII v.

⁹⁸ Ibidem.

Sebürllicher werck XLIII

oder aber mit gütwilligkeit/grosser beweyster wolthåung/treflicher wirt-
de/hoffnung/oder verheissung künfftigs nutz/oder miltigkeit/vnd zum letz-
ten/durch gabe oder belohnung (als wir dann dick in vnserm gemeinen nutz
gesehen haben) darzu bracht.

Tyrannen/vnd ein hund der tobt/ Wer die ertödt/der wirt gelobt.



Vnder allenn dingen ist zübeschiemung vnnnd behaltung der reich/nichts
schicklichers/dann lieb gehabt/Vnnnd dawider nichts schedlichers wann
durch vnzünliche grausamkeit]^e gefürcht werden. Darumb der Poet En-
nius schreibt/Wen die völder fürchten/den hassen sie/vnd begert ein yeder
den/den er haßt/züuertreiben. Aber wie kein reichthum viler mensche haf-
widerstehn mag wer das vormalis vnbeant gewest/so ist es doch lungst/
durch den tod des Keyfers Julij]^e der vom Römischem rath im Capitolio
erstochen]^e offenbar worden/Vñ mit allein der tod des verzogenanten Ty-
rannen/des vergeweltigung die Stat Rom mit seyndlichen weren leyden
müß) Sonder solchs gleicher weys/durch das ende vil anderer Tyrannen
(der gar nahet keiner solchem tod empflohen ist) erklet. Fürwar forcht/
ist ein böser/vnd widerumb gütwilligkeit ein lang wirtiger getrewer hütter.
Nedoch gegen den/die mit gewalt vberwunden sind/vnd sunst mit behalten
vnd billiger weis gestrafft werden mügen/ist erwa der grümtigkeit nort/ Al-
so auch bysweilen die herrn gegen iren vnghehorisamen knechtenn]^e das da-
mals gang eygen leut gewest]^e herrigkeit bedörffen.

Von hasse er
gesochten.

Gleichaus
mit etlichen
Tyrannen.

Venn forcht
vnd lieb.

Vs nott uns
tigger streff
vund forcht.

S ij Aber

Fig. 12a. The murder of Caesar. Emblem II, 6 of the German *De officiis*. *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [. . .] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII r.



Fig. 12b. Detail (private collection).

invites the reader to identify the ruler as a tyrant: 'Wer will dass man ihn fürcht durch peyn,/ Muoss auch in stäten engsten seyn./ Hab wir bey vil Thyrannen schein'.⁹⁹ From the right side of the image one of the tyrant's henchmen enters the scene and triumphantly presents to his master the disembodied head of the man whom he had killed [Fig. 15]. The henchman in an outrageous gesture holds up the head of his victim by its hair, and his distorted face shows the emotion of *furor*. Just behind the henchman lies the beheaded body, with streams of blood still running down from its neck. This suggests that the beheading must have taken place just a few seconds ago, before the eyes of the Emperor. Scheidig, who thought that the image originally belonged to *De officiis*, has interpreted the scene as the beheading of a tyrant.¹⁰⁰ This, however, is impossible. The "tyrant" is alive and sitting on his throne; obviously, he must be the one who had ordered the beheading.

⁹⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁰ *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* 305.

Das Leben

Vns warhayt offte der freun leydt noth/
Das auch verurſacht diſen tod.

Vnd iſt doch böſſer leyden peyn/
Daß inn der hilff der böſen ſeyn.



Allesen iſt Cicero von ſeinen dienern vberredt worden / wider zu ſeynen aygnen wouungenn (die er ſaß hüpfch gehabt) zuſchiffenn / Vnd als er auß dem ſchiff ſtyge / ſeind im etlich Raben entgegen geflogen / als wolten ſy im ſein bleyben verbyeten / vnd wider zu rugt zefaren vermanen / Auch also dem Ciceroni / biß in ſeynen ſyß / mit groſſem gſchray vnd gereüſch nachgevolgt / Dadurch ſeyn diener bewegt / das ſy in eylendts inn ain truhenn legten / vnnnd wider zu meer trügenn. Inn dem hat Anthonius ſeyne diener verordnet / die Popilius (den Cicero vormals als aynem verſlagten vbelthäter beſchügt) ſüret / Die haben das gemelt doſſ vnd ſyß Ciceronis / Formian genannt / überfallen vnnnd zerriſſen / Vnnnd als ſy Ciceronem darinnen nit funden / haben ſy ſich gegen dem waſſer gethaylt / vnnnd also Cicronem auff dem weg vberleyet. Da aber Cicero merget / das ehe ſhn nicht entpflehen mochte / hieß er die truhenn darinn erla ge / auff ſperren vnnnd hinweg thün / Vnnnd ſabe ſolche ſeyne ſeynde / on ſonderliche traurigkayt vnnnd erſeüßgenn an / vnnnd ſtriche den bart ſeyner gewonnhaytt nach / mit der lüngſten hand / Vnnnd war als bald inn vier vnnnd ſechzigſten Jhare ſeinesalters / von jr erwürgt.

Wie etliche / die an dem boſſhaften morde

Ciceronis ſchuld hetten / ſchäntlich vmbkamen.

Dann Brutus den tode Ciceronis vernam / hatt ehe C. Anthonium / den Bräder Triumui / der inn ſeyner gefengtnus lage / dem Sune Ciceronis / rache an ſhm züthün / vbergeben / Der also ſeyn ſtraff

Fig. 13. The murder of Cicero. Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Teütsch Cicero* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. XIX v.



Fig. 14. Proverb 'To put a lock on one's mouth'. Röhrich, *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, vol. V, 1368.

Cicero's text (II, 24–27), however, does not discuss the tyrants' cruelty, but their *fear*, and the negative results of their rule. He deals with a number of *exempla historica*, and he deliberately takes all of them from Greek history (Dionysius II from Syracuse, Alexander Pheraeus, Phalaris, Demetrius).¹⁰¹ Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem also focuses on the

¹⁰¹ *De officiis* II, 24–26; 26: 'Externa libentius in tali re quam domestica recordor'.

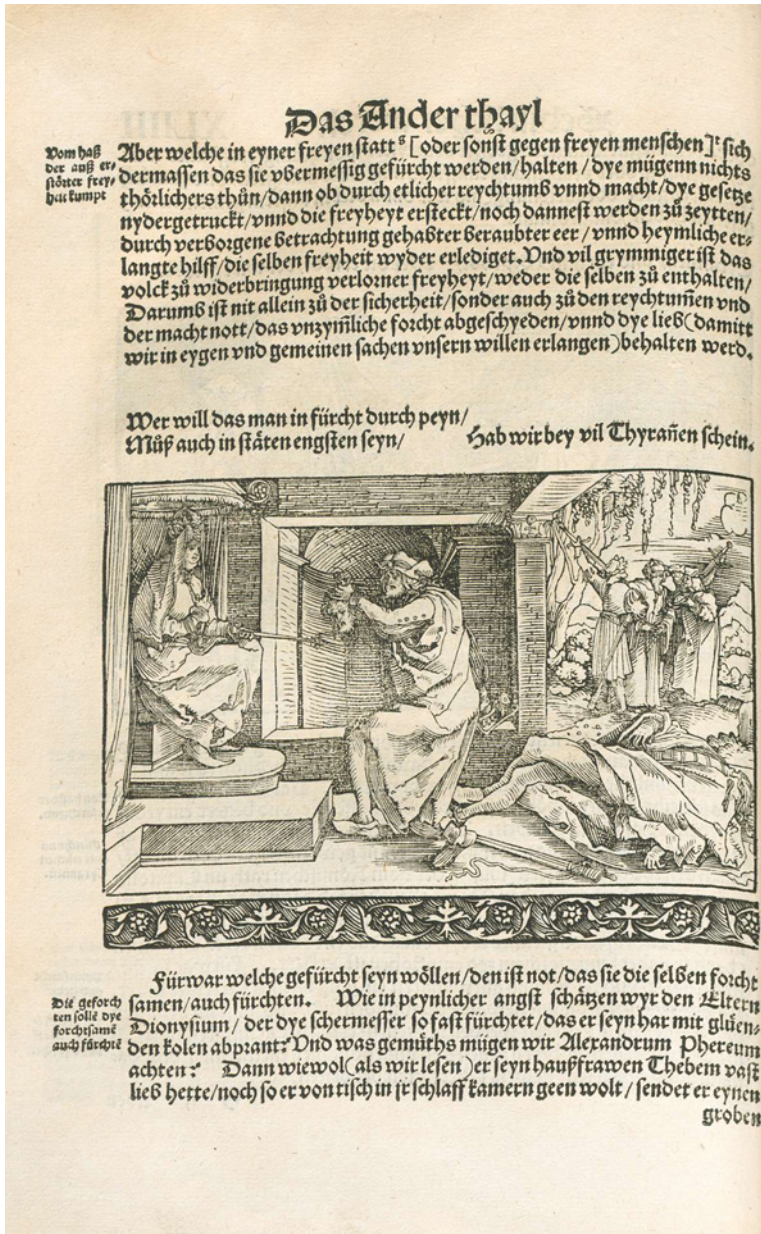


Fig. 15. The beheading of a subject (Cicero). Emblem II, 7 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLIII v.

tyrants' fear and anxiety. Neither Cicero nor Schwarzenberg mentions or describes beheadings. Schwarzenberg talks about 'fürcht durch peyn', which means that people are afraid of tyrants because of the tortures they inflict on their subjects. The image, however, does not display any kind of torture, but rather a beheading – a death penalty that was considered comparatively painless. Therefore, it is very unlikely that Schwarzenberg envisaged a beheading as the image of this emblem. It could well be that he invented/ordered a scene in which a person underwent some kind of late medieval torture, such as the rack (*equuleus*).

The image of emblem II, 7 was "invented" not by Schwarzenberg, but by Heinrich Steiner, and, again, he took it from the *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* set. There, it illustrated chapter II, 102, "Von den Gebrechen der Redenhaftigkeit" ("De eloquentie defectu" – "On the lack of eloquence"; Fig. 16).¹⁰² The dialogue character of mental pain (*Dolor*) complains about being not eloquent enough. *Ratio* presents arguments for why one should not be grievous because of that. Scheidig did not see any connection between the content of this chapter and the illustration.¹⁰³ Therefore, he guessed that the illustration originally belonged to *De officiis*. There is, however, a clear connection already in the beginning of the chapter. *Ratio* says: 'You lack one of the tools to earn hatred. Acknowledge it is a benefit of Nature, who deprived you of [...] no small a slice of Fortune's woes. For many perish because of their eloquence. If you doubt that, ask the princes/ champions of both kinds of eloquence'.¹⁰⁴ 'The princes/ champions of both kinds of eloquence' ('utriusque eloquii principes') are Cicero, the champion of Latin, and Demosthenes, the champion of Greek eloquence. Both were killed because of their *Philippic* speeches – Demosthenes by King Philip of Macedonia because he agitated against the King's Macedonian imperialism, and Cicero by the Roman *triumviri* because of his *Orationes Philippicae* against Marc Antony. The image II, 102 designed by the Petrarch-Master, in all likelihood depicts the beheading of Cicero [Fig. 16].¹⁰⁵ The Roman Emperor sitting on the throne probably represents Augustus, who agreed to have Cicero killed.

Interestingly, if Steiner wanted to illustrate emblem II, 7 to go more closely with the text of either Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem or Cicero's *De officiis* II, 24–26, he would have had at his disposal within the *Von*

¹⁰² *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. CXXIX r.

¹⁰³ *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters* 305.

¹⁰⁴ *De remediis* II, 102, transl. Rawski, vol. III, 247–248.

¹⁰⁵ For the background scene cf. the illustration in the *Teütsch Cicero*, fol. XIX v (Fig. 13).



Fig. 16. The beheading of Cicero. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. CXXIX r (private collection).

der Artzney bayder Glück set at least three woodcuts that were more suitable, viz. II, 65, II, 81, and II, 39. The image of II, 39 ("On an unjust lord"/ "Von einem ungerechten Herrn") depicts a Greek tyrant (as required by Cicero), clearly Dionysius II of Syracuse [Fig. 17].¹⁰⁶ The fact that he rules by fear and terror, and that he is inflicting pain upon his subjects, is symbolized by the sword he holds in his right hand and the whip he has in his left hand. The fear is also shown on the face of the male subject (bottom, right). The fact that the tyrant himself is afraid is made clear by the "sword of Damokles" hanging above him – a psychological torture invented by Dionysius II himself. And, last but not least, the face of the tyrant has the

¹⁰⁶ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. XLVIII r.



Fig. 17. The tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. XXXVIII r (private collection).

same anxious expression as that of his subject. The tyrant turns his head around as if he expects some danger coming from behind. The unpleasant, awkward feeling the tyrant suffers from is strengthened by the strange features of his mantle, which seems to be textured with thorns and spikes. The sinister atmosphere is further indicated by the demon, depicted at the bottom, to the left. This is the demon of tyranny. Petrarch's *De remediis* chapter contains an explanation of the image:

SORROW (DOLOR): The unhappy populace suffers from an unfair lord.

REASON (RATIO): Of all the wretched people, not one, believe me, is more wretched than a tyrant. If you doubt this, consider Dionysius, depraved but not stupid. What he thought of himself and his tyranny is clearly indicated by the point of that sword he had hung over the head of his friend. The story is well known. The people fear the tyrant and the tyrant fears them. This way they rack each other with their mutual fear, the difference being that the misery of the people is overt but that of the tyrant is hidden. Yet a wound that is covered by a purple robe does not hurt any less, nor do golden shackles bind less than iron ones. [...] On the outside the tyrant's mantle is gold. But turn it and you will find it on the inside it is full of cruel spikes. So you can see that the tyrants do not rage with total impunity and do not oppress the people without suffering retribution.¹⁰⁷

SCHMERTZ: Das unglücksälüg volck leydet ein ungerechten herrn.

VERNUNFFT: Glaub mir, in und under eynem haylarmenn volck ist niemandts heylermer denn der Tyrann oder Wütrich, unnd wenn du daran zweyfelst, so sihe den Dionisium an, der selbig böss, aber nicht ungelert mann. Hat mit der spitzen des schwerts, das uber dem kopff seynes freunds uber tisch hieng, auffß öffentlichst angezayget, was er von im selbs und seynem Tyrannischen und wütterlichen Regiment hielt. Woelliche hystoria und geschicht bekannt ist. Das volck forcht sich vor dem Tyrannen und der Tyrann vor dem volck. Also peyniget ein thayl den andern mit gleycher forcht. Aber in dem ist die underschayd, das die armsälügkayt des gemaynen volcks offenbar, aber des Tyrannen verborgen unnd heimlich ist. Doch peynigt nit weniger die wundenn, die mit einer sameten decke verdeckt ist; es beschwerenn auch die gulden fuossband nicht weniger dann die eyssene [...] Ausswendig tregt der Tyrann oder Wütrich ein gulden stuck, wendest du es umb, so ist es innwendig voller brinnenden stacheln. Also (wie du sihest) nicht gantz entweder ungestrafft die Tyrannen ungütlich mit den leuten umbgeen oder das gemayn volck ungerochen beschwert wirt.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ *De remediis* II, 39, transl. Rawski, vol. III, 100.

¹⁰⁸ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. XLVIII v.

Thus, this image – clarified by Petrarch's explanation – would have fit perfectly the *De officiis* emblem II, 7. Interestingly, Steiner has used this image for a very similar emblem constructed from the third book of the German *De officiis* (III, 84–85): 'Wer land und leüt mit unrecht drangt,/ Ob dem das schwert am faden hangt:/ Und stet gross gfar wie hoch er prangt' [Fig. 18].¹⁰⁹ There, again, Cicero's text deals with the fear and anxiety tyrants suffer from, although the passage is much shorter and less explicit than *De officiis* II, 24–26. Steiner must have decided to combine the beautiful emblematic illustration of *De remediis* II, 39 with *De officiis* III, 84–85, because in the emblematic poem to the passage Schwarzenberg explicitly mentioned the sword of Damokles (which is depicted in the image) [Fig. 18].

The illustration to *De remediis* II, 81 ("Von der verlornen Tyrannei") shows the worst fears of tyrants, which at the same time are the topical punishments of tyranny: to be isolated, to be attacked by one's subjects, to lose power, to be besieged by fellow citizens, and finally to get assassinated or killed by them [Fig. 19].¹¹⁰ The assassination of the tyrant is depicted in the center of the woodcut. In Petrarch's chapter, by contrast, the tyrant remains alive. He is the one (behind the mask of *Dolor*) who complains about having lost his lordship.

The image to *De remediis* II, 65 ("On torture" – "Von peynigung") depicts tortures inflicted by tyrants [Fig. 20].¹¹¹ In the left half of the image, a most horrible instrument of torture is shown, the iron "bull of Phalaris", in which the victims were enclosed in order to be roasted on a fire. The iron bull was invented for the Greek tyrant Phalaris, who is mentioned in the relevant *De officiis* paragraph II, 26. Although Petrarch's chapter treats torture from the perspective of the tortured person, RATIO answers in the beginning SORROW's complaint by: 'Pity your tormentor. He suffers worse torture than you. Although all the world disagrees with it, it is still a lesser evil to suffer injustice than to perpetrate it'.¹¹² In the German translation, Steiner could read: 'VERNUNFFT: Erbarm dich seins peinigers. Derselb wirt serer gepeynigt dann du. Wiewol die welt darwider strebt, so ist doch unrecht erleyden ein kleyner ubel dann unrecht thuon'.¹¹³ Thus,

¹⁰⁹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. LXXXII v (emphasis mine).

¹¹⁰ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book II, fol. XCVIII r; the chapter inscription has erroneously 'Das LXXXII. Capitel'.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, book II, fol. LXXVI v.

¹¹² *De remediis* II, 65, transl. Rawski, vol. III, 146 (with changes).

¹¹³ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* fols. LXXVI v–LXXVII r.

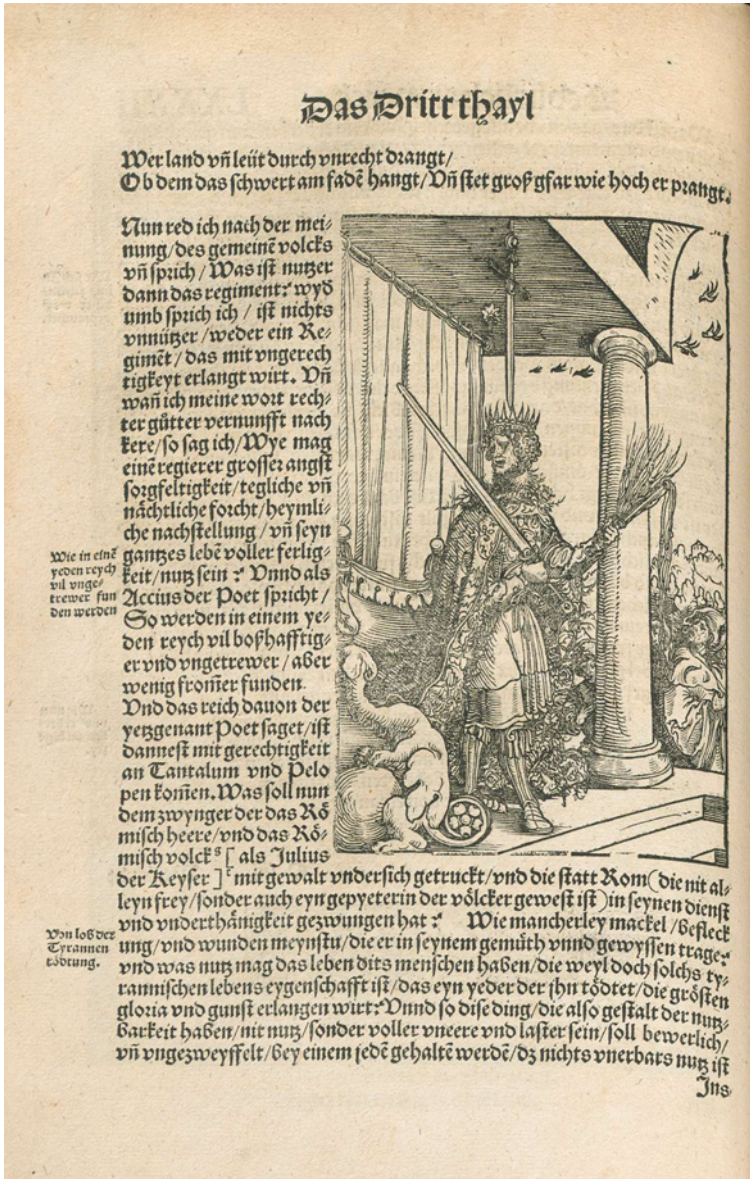


Fig. 18. The tyrant. Emblem of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. LXXXII v.



Fig. 19. "Von der verlorren Tyranny" ("On the loss of a lordship"). Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. XCVI r (private collection).



Fig. 20. "Von peynigung" ("On torture"). Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book II, fol. LXXVI v (private collection).

Steiner also could have chosen the images of *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* II, 65 and II, 81.

But what exactly is the effect of Steiner's decision to add the image of chapter II, 102, with the beheading of Cicero [Fig. 15], to the above-mentioned *De officiis* passage? The most important thing is probably that the emblem II, 7 gets a new political dimension: it is the Roman Emperor who is depicted as a tyrant; a murderer; and a suppressor of freedom, eloquence, and – most irritatingly of all – the murderer of the author of the moral manual, Cicero. Therefore, the image offers arguments as to why it would be just to punish the Emperor. Cicero, in the relevant *De officiis* passage, was reluctant to connect the discussion on tyranny with the Roman Empire, and Schwarzenberg also did not talk about the Roman Emperor. Would Schwarzenberg have been happy to accuse the Roman Emperor of being a tyrant? This is doubtful. One must not forget that in 1521 he was a member of the *Reichsregiment* of Charles V. But it is certain that the Petrarch-Master did accuse the Emperor in various woodcuts.¹¹⁴ For the Petrarch-Master's attitude, one may compare the image to II, 73, "On a King without a son". In the image, the 'king' is depicted as the Roman Emperor, with the imperial crown of the Habsburgs.¹¹⁵ The 'King without a Son' – Maximilian I – will be unable to prolong the power of his dynasty. The design of the woodcut probably was made in 1519, in the aftermath of Maximilian's death. The woodcut of *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* II, 102 adds to the *De officiis* emblems an anti-imperial and anti-Habsburg touch. German readers of the 1530s might have felt invited to understand Cicero's "Mirror of virtue", in this and similar cases, as an anti-imperial and anti-Habsburg manifesto.

Schwarzenberg's and Steiner's emblematicizations display more ideological transformations of *De officiis*. In *De officiis* II, 27 f. Cicero offers a personal interpretation of Roman history ca. 110–80 BC, in which he gives a special place to the auction Sulla held at the Forum to sell the loot he gathered from the adherents of Marius. If one departs from the Latin text, the image seems to be an illustration of Sulla's auction [Fig. 21a and b].¹¹⁶ In emblem II, 8 Schwarzenberg reinterpreted Cicero's text on Sulla's auction

¹¹⁴ Cf. Enenkel, "Pain as Persuasion" 94–119 (esp. 115–119); Steinmann U., "Die politische Tendenz des Petrarca-Meisters. Seine Stellungnahme gegen die Wahl Karls V. und sein Verhalten zu den Ereignissen in Württemberg", *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte* 6 (1964) 40–90.

¹¹⁵ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* fol. XCII v "Von einem König der kein Sun hat".

¹¹⁶ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLV v.

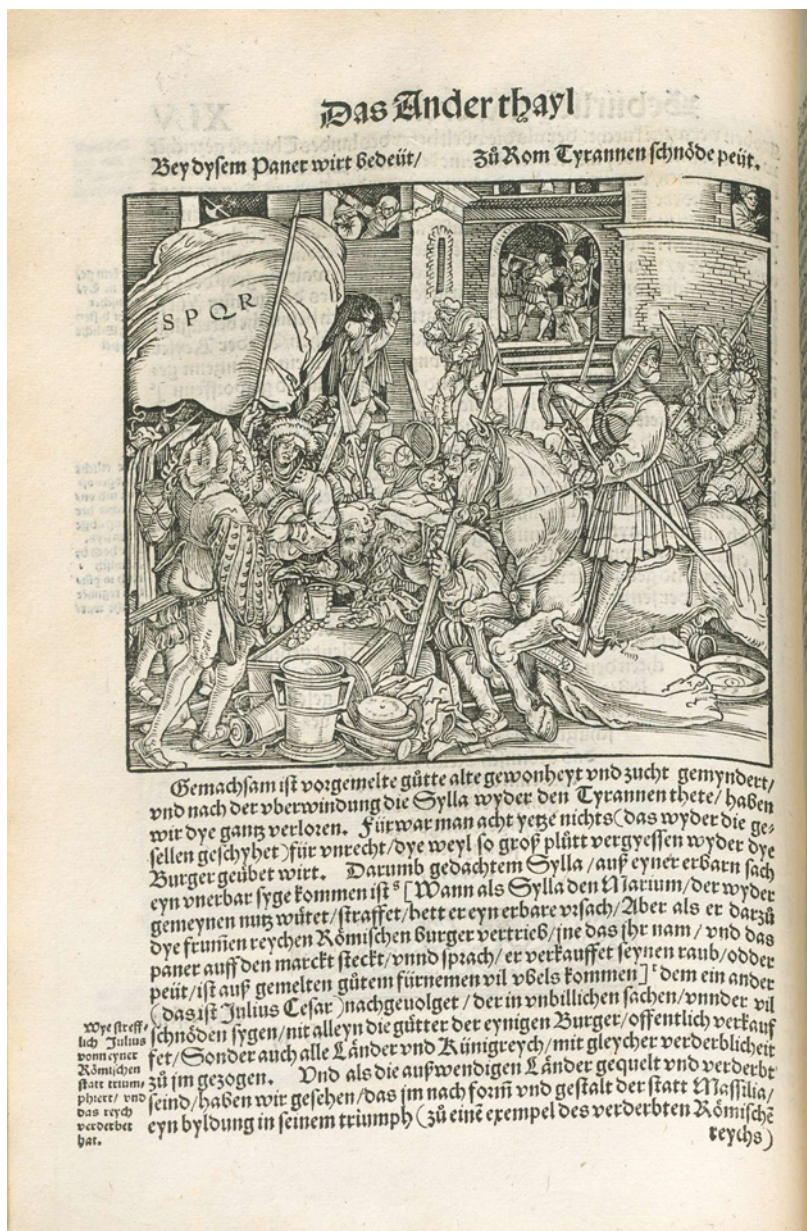


Fig. 21a. Soldiers throwing the dice. Emblem II, 8 of the German *De officiis*. *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLV v.



Fig. 21b. Detail (private collection).

in the following way: 'this flag means: in Rome (there is; is to be had; is sold) the tyrant's immoral loot' – 'Bey *dysem Paner* wirt bedeüt:/ Zuo Rom Tyrannen schnöde peüt'.¹¹⁷ The poem points directly to the image, which is dominated by a large flag ('paner'; top left) of the Roman state (as indicated by the inscription S.P.Q.R.). Schwarzenberg, followed by the artist who made the illustration, slightly "changed" the Roman habit of organizing an auction: 'sub hasta vendere' ('to sell under the lance'); 'hastae subicere (aliquid)' ('to put something under the lance'); 'hastam ponere' ('to fix the lance'); and 'ad hastam publicam accedere' ('to go to a public auction'). The habit was that a lance was pierced into the ground as a sign that a public auction was about to take place. 'Hastam ponere' was not about a flag or a banner, and certainly not about the flag of an army. In the image, however, not only has the lance turned into the banner of the Roman army, but the public auction has transformed into a division of spoils among soldiers decided by *throwing the dice*. The artist has depicted the greediness in the faces of the two soldiers in the foreground (who are

¹¹⁷ Ibidem (emphasis mine).

playing dice; Fig. 21b). This image refers to a well-known iconography: the Roman soldiers in front of the cross who were throwing dice for Christ's mantle. It is probably no coincidence that in the foreground of the *De officiis* image one can see a large mantle lying on the ground. Via this strategy, the emblematic image accuses the Roman army and its leader of impious, un-Christian behaviour.

In Cicero's *De officiis*, the person accused of holding a public auction is Sulla.¹¹⁸ In Schwarzenberg's emblem, *the big auctioneer of the Roman goods* appears to be *Julius Caesar*. First, Schwarzenberg transforms Cicero's text on Sulla's auction into a historical footnote by putting it between square brackets [Fig. 21a]. The text in brackets looks like a learned annotation made by Schwarzenberg to help his less learned German audience. But, as a result, the remaining prose text is all about Caesar. Schwarzenberg not only explicitly mentions Caesar's name ('das ist Julius Cesar'), but he also focuses attention on him by summarizing the content in a marginal annotation: 'Wye strefflich Julius vonn eyner Römischen statt triumphieret, und das reych verderbet hat' – 'How Caesar in a criminal way celebrated a triumph over a Roman town, and destroyed the Roman Empire' [Fig. 21a].

The result of Schwarzenberg's reorganization of Cicero's text is that his German readers must have understood the image in a way other than one might have if one just looked at Cicero's Latin text. In combination with the reworked and reorganized text, the image does not simply show Sulla's auction, but the *plundering of the Roman town of Massilia by Caesar's soldiers and Caesar's triumphant entry into Massilia*.¹¹⁹ The entry into Massilia is shown by the knights on horseback on the right side of the image. The second knight, in his full suit of armour (= Waffenrüstung), probably represents the triumphant army leader Julius Caesar. To understand this better, it is helpful to have a look at the title page of the German *De officiis* [Fig. 1].¹²⁰ It shows the tyrant Julius Caesar in his suit of armour, presiding over the Roman Senate. That he acts as a tyrant is indicated by the fact that he wears his suit of armour in the Senate. In his German poem, Schwarzenberg explains: 'So Julius durch seinen trutz/hat undertruckt gemeynen nutz [...] – 'In this way, with his belligerent

¹¹⁸ *De officiis* II, 27. In a cryptic way, Cicero alludes to 'another one' who committed worse things: who 'sold whole provinces of the Empire'.

¹¹⁹ The triumph over Massilia is mentioned in Cicero's text *De officiis* II, 28 (beginning of the paragraph).

¹²⁰ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XXXVIII v.

behaviour, Caesar has suppressed the common good'.¹²¹ In the background of Fig. 21a and b the looting of Massilia is depicted, and in the foreground is the division of the spoils – an event that probably is thought to have taken place in Rome after the official triumph.

That Rome is mentioned so prominently in Schwarzenberg's poem, and that the city was singled out as the location of the moral disaster that ruined the Empire, also contribute to the ideological potential of his *De officiis* emblem II, 8. Schwarzenberg was an ardent Lutheran. For Lutherans, Rome had very negative associations, and they were easily inclined to identify 'the tyrant in Rome' with the Pope. The Pope was denounced as the one who was destroying Christianity (i.e. the Antichrist) and who stole the property of his fellow Christians, especially the Germans. The Pope was also seen as the immoral heir of immoral emperors of Roman antiquity, such as Julius Caesar, Caligula, and Nero. There was also a more specific link between Julius Caesar and the papacy. The previous Pope, Julius II (+1513), not only identified himself with Julius Caesar, but openly behaved like him. He was known as the (un-Christian) warrior Pope who was proud of leading his soldiers to the battlefield himself, as he did on his campaign against Bologna. Schwarzenberg's emblem II, 8 transfers *De officiis* into a Lutheran ideological discourse that came up 1515–1520 and remained relevant in the years to come when Luther's reformation gained more and more ground. Julius Caesar served as a prefiguration of the Antichrist, and the Roman Popes Julius II and Leo X were both regarded as Antichrists.

Emblem II, 9 ("How to build a barn"): Proverbial Translation

Another strategy of reader's guidance employed by the illustrations may be labelled "proverbial translation". The philosophical content of Cicero's text is summarized in a German proverb. Since proverbs are, in general, closely related to people's daily experience, they can be useful to explain more complex and difficult content. An example of this strategy is emblem 9 (fols. XLVI v–XLVII r). Cicero's text talks about the 'love' ('caritas') the politician tries to rouse in order to make people support him.¹²² According to Cicero, this love is somehow connected with and dependent on admiration, trust, and honour. Schwarzenberg translated

¹²¹ Ibidem.

¹²² *De officiis* II, 32–35.

this content into the German proverb 'mit Nachbarn baut man Scheunen', as his emblematic poem indicates: 'Des sprichworts wirt gar oft entzebt,/ dass man mit nachbarn schewern hebt./ Drum wz zuo lieb und freundschaft neigt/ Hierbey is klerlich angezeigt'.¹²³ The image is an illustration of the proverb, and the emblematic poem points directly to the illustration. The perspective and the focus of the proverb, however, differ from Cicero's philosophical argument: the proverb's perspective is not that of a politician, but that of ordinary people, and it focuses not on political support by an unlimited number of unknown people, but on the manual help given by a few neighbours. The image that depicts in detail how a barn is built [Fig. 22a and b] locates the emblematic action in the milieu of peasants and lower craftsmen, not of citizens or the nobility.

In what way does the image's comment guide the reception of Cicero's text? Cicero argues that virtue (or the positive impression a politician makes) is the most important motif for arousing the 'love' or goodwill of the people. Very differently, the help of neighbours is based on a "do ut des" or "manus manum lavat" principle. Thus, the image that demonstrates this principle stresses another motif or reason for 'love': 'beneficentia'. Cicero, who was, of course, well acquainted with the Roman "do ut des" mentality, mentioned it; however, in his philosophical argument he considered virtue much more important. As was already the case with emblem II, 5, the emblematic image (and poem) of II, 9 gives the content of the German *De officiis* a more ordinary, down-to-earth, and Machiavellian flavour.

*Emblem II, 10 ("Patrician with his children"): Shift of Perspective
as Vernacular Translation*

Emblem II, 10 also works with a shift of perspective;¹²⁴ it is composed not from the point of view of the politician, but of his clients, that is the citizens. They represent the 'T' of the poem: 'Ich glaub euch (e.g. the politician) sein gerecht und weys/ Drumb gib ich euch der eren preys./ Empfilch euch all mein hab und kind,/ Hass die gescheyd und spitzig sind'. Because the 'T' considers a certain politician to be just and prudent, it honours him and trusts to him his possessions and children. The poem closely reflects two

¹²³ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVI v.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem* fol. XLVII r.

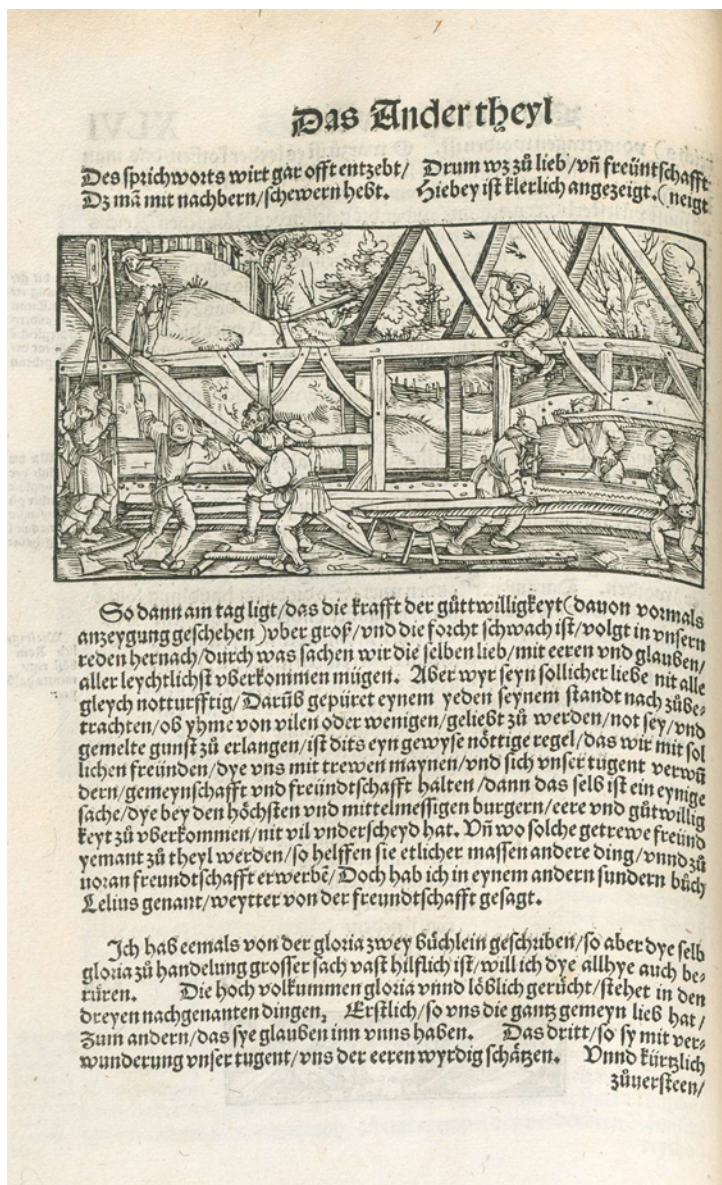


Fig. 22a. "How to build a barn" ("mit Nachbarn baut man Scheunen"). Emblem II, 9 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVI v.



Fig. 22b. Detail (private collection).

lines of Cicero's text.¹²⁵ Thus, the shift in perspective is partly connected with Cicero's text. Cicero, however, used the first person of the plural in a general and neutral sense ('we suppose' = 'one supposes'). Nevertheless, more so than in other passages, he takes into account the manner of thinking of the 'ordinary people', the man in the street – 'vulgus' in Latin. He explicitly says that in this passage he uses certain expressions not in a philosophical sense, but a colloquial one, like the 'ordinary people', the *vulgus*.¹²⁶ This manner of arguing is functional. Its aim is indeed to better understand the 'people' – how they experience politicians. Cicero focuses on the following question: What is the most important quality a politician must have in order to make the people regard him as trustworthy? As Cicero puts it in the first line of the passage, it should be a combination of prudence and

¹²⁵ *De officiis* II, 33: 'Iustis autem [et fidis] hominibus, id est bonis viris, ita fides habetur, ut nulla sit in iis fraudis iniuriaque suspicio. Itaque his salutem nostram, his fortunas, his liberos rectissime committi arbitramur'.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem* II, 35: 'Quam ob rem, ut vulgus, ita nos hoc loco loquimur, ut alios fortes, alios viros bonos, alios prudentes esse dicamus'.

justice ('coniunctam cum iustitia prudentiam').¹²⁷ In II, 33 Cicero demonstrates the importance of prudence. In II, 34, however, he concludes that justice is much more important than prudence, and that prudence alone does not have any effect. Therefore, a successful politician should concentrate on the virtue of justice. Schwarzenberg's poem keenly reflects Cicero's discussion on the opposition between justice and prudence.

The image seems to illustrate Schwarzenberg's poem: it shows a German patrician with a large number of children (all male) and an old man [Fig. 23]. The reader is probably supposed to identify the patrician in the large armchair (second person from the right) as the father of the children and as the 'I' of Schwarzenberg's poem. He is the one who is ready to trust his children to a just (and prudent) man. One wonders whether this latter person could be the old man on the left side of the picture who is holding a rosary in his left hand and a stick in his right hand. It is difficult to discern what the little child in front of him is doing; maybe it is playing hide and seek with the old man. If so, the old man resembles more a funny grandfather than a successful politician.

Although the image seems to suit the emblematic poem very well, it was only 're-invented' as an illustration to *De officiis* by Heinrich Steiner: it was originally designed by the Petrarch-Master for Petrarch's German *De remediis*, chapter I, 70, "On the birth of children" – "Vomm gepurt der kinder" [Fig. 24].¹²⁸ The chapter collects under the speaking character of the Stoic *Ratio* arguments why one should not be too glad about having begotten children.

JOY: To me children have been born.

REASON: Double trouble and a burden for your household.

[...] You have planted a tree, which has to be cultivated with never-ending care, which will keep you busy as long as you live, the yield of which might be none, or very late [...].

JOY: I do have children.

REASON: If they are good, perennial fear; if bad, eternal sorrow. And all the time, doubtful comfort but assured grief.¹²⁹

The Petrarch-Master has decided to illustrate the big burden of children through their large number (8), whereas this is irrelevant in Petrarch's

¹²⁷ Ibidem II, 33.

¹²⁸ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book I, fol. LXXXVIII v.

¹²⁹ *De remediis* I, 70, transl. Rawski, vol. I, 205.

Gebürllicher werck**XLVII**

zuerstehem/ mitt was sachen diese drey dinge/ Bey yedem menschen inn sonderheit erlangt/ also werden sie gar naher/ Bey der gemeinde (wiewol vnser einbildung inn ihr aller gemüt eines andern zügangs bedarf) vber kommen. Vnd ist vnder solchen vorgesagten dreyen dinge/ die gütwilligkeit so mitt vil wolthung erworben wirt/ fürnemlich zumercken/ Desgleichen geneygter beweister wil (ob die werck nit volbracht werden mügen/ gemelter gütwilligkeit auch bewegt. Zum dritten/ erweckt solche lieb auß dem gerucht vnser milten wolthung/ vñ außgab des gelts/ Auch trawen/ glaubē vñ andern tugeten/ zñ der senfftmütigkeit/ vñ holdsäligkeit gütter sitten gehöru. Was vorgemelte ziere vñ erberkeit/ die vns auß eigener natur an genem ist/ bewegt durch seer schöne vñ gestalt/ die gemüt der menschen/ vñ erscheint in diesem verzerrümpften tugeten allermeist. Darumb in welchem menschen/ wir vns miltigkeit/ gerechtigkeit/ vñ güttes glaubens versehen/ zñ der selbē liebhabung/ zwingt vns die natur/ Vñ wiewol solcher lieb halb sonst mer vrsach/ die allhie zümelden nit von nöten/ erzelt werden möchten/ So seind doch die dapffersten/ oben angezeigt.

Ich glaub euch sein gerecht vñ weys/ Empfich euch all mein haß vñ kind/
Drumb gib ich euch/ der eren preys. Haß die gescheyd vñ spizig sind.

**Das man**

Fig. 23. Patrician with (his) children. Emblem II, 10 of the German *De officiis*. *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVII r.

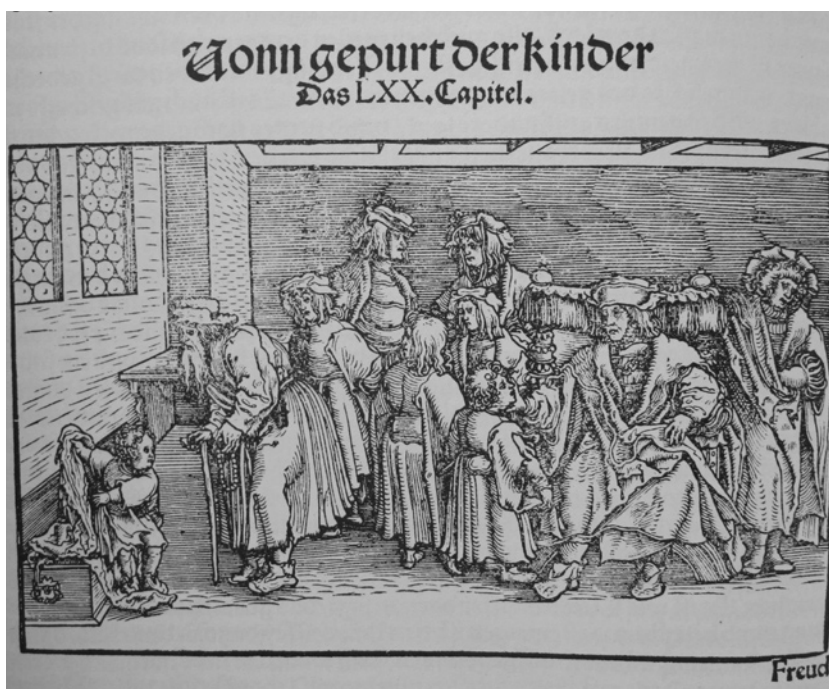


Fig. 24. Patrician with his children, “On the birth of children”. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. LXXXVIII v (private collection).

text. The large number of children, however, makes the image even more suitable as an illustration to *De officiis*: the fact that so many children are entrusted to the successful politician’s responsibility increases his *fides* (trustworthiness). The image even has potential for other interpretations in combination with the *De officiis* passage II, 35–36. For example, one could identify the presiding man on the right side not as the father of the children (or the ‘T’), but as the trustworthy man/politician addressed in the poem. By commenting on a child’s behaviour (cf. his right hand), the trustworthy man/politician displays the virtues a veritable *pater familias* is supposed to have: justice (*iustitia*) and prudence (*prudentia*). In this case, the physical father of the children or the ‘T’ could be the old man to the left. Interpreted in this way, the function of the trustworthy man would be as a guardian, in case the old man died while his children were still little.

The image’s main effect is that it makes readers identify with Cicero’s content, even if said readers are not (potential) politicians, since the

image addresses family matters – matters that concern everybody. The reader does not identify with Cicero's politician, but with the unknown citizen, the 'I' of the poem. By this device, the emblemization greatly broadens the spectrum of readers and users. In this way, *De officiis* functions as an ethical manual not only for politicians, but for everybody who lives together with other people in any way, shape, or form.

*Emblem II, 11: Monarchization of De officiis and Encyclopedia
of "Ständisches Verhalten"*

The next emblem, II, 11, deals with another means of political success, namely, arousing the admiration of the people: 'Der leut man sich verwundert gross,/ Die wircken mer dann ir genoss/ Ir werck man höchster eer vergleicht,/ Schlecht, unnutz leut, die helt man leicht'.¹³⁰ Cicero discusses the question of what a politician must do in order to make the people admire him.¹³¹ The most important thing is to display virtuous and energetic behaviour. The image [Fig. 25] shows a king or emperor talking to a couple of noblemen.¹³² Cicero, however, did not have kings or emperors in mind. In the image, it seems that the king is the one the people admire; bad and useless people seem to be represented by the four foolish and boorish guys to the right, who disqualify themselves through stupid and inadequate gestures: they fail to take a socially respectable attitude, and they demonstrate that 'schlecht unnütz leüt die helt man leicht' – 'bad and useless people are not taken seriously'.

The image, however, was originally designed by the Petrarch-Master for Petrarch's German *De remediis*, chapter I, 85, "De bono domino", "Von einem guoten herrn" ("On a good Lord"; Fig. 26).¹³³ In the first part of the chapter, Petrarch's *Ratio* attacks the notion of a 'bonus dominus' as a *contradictio in adiecto*: if he is good, he is no *dominus*; if he is a *dominus*, he cannot be good. Petrarch gives three examples of good Roman Emperors: Augustus, Tiberius, and Severus Alexander. All three publicly declared that nobody was allowed to address them as 'dominus'. According to Petrarch's *Ratio*, there is only one 'dominus' (lord): God in heaven. 'The Lord God is the god of all gods; Augustus was the emperor of all men. God maintains

¹³⁰ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII r.

¹³¹ *De officiis* II, 36–37.

¹³² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII r.

¹³³ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, book I, fol. CI r.

Gebürlicher werck

XLVIII

Der leut mā sich verwundt groß/ Ir werck mā höchster eer vergleicht/
Die wircken mer dann ir genos. Schlecht vnnutz leut/ die helt mā leicht.



Aber das ich wider zu meinem forderu fürnemen "[was zu der hohem Gloria gehöre]" könne/ So ist vnder solchen vorgemelten dreyen dingen/ die zu der glorien gehören/ das dritt stuck gewesen/ das wir die menschen auf verwunderung irer grossen werck/ der eren würdig schätzen. Nun verwundern sich die menschen/ gewonlich aller grossen sachen/ vnd so sie in etlichen menschen sonderliche güte vnschätzliche vnd vbertreffliche ding sehen/ so bedencken vnd erheben sie die selben/ mit den grössten lobungen/ Bey welchem sye sich aber keiner tugent/ auch keiner krafft noch sterck/ vnd nichts güts versehen/ die verachten vnd verschmehen sie. Doch verachten sie nit öffentlich alle die/ die sie bößhafft/ betrüglich/ vnd vngerecht schätzen/ sonder gedencen ein vñsels von in "[wann man offt der gleichen schelet auff forcht allemeist eren/ vnd von iren schentlichen wercken die warheit zureden meyden müß/ Vnd ist von solchen bößwichten vñsels zügedencken gar vil besser/ dan das man einen thoren vnd vnweyßen (als vorstet) verachtet]" Vñ gleicher weis als die selben vorgemelten thoren/ in dem kein arbeit/ vernunft/ noch sorg ist/ Auch ine noch andern nit nutz seind/ verächtlich gehalten/ Also werdenn die yenen/ die andern mit tugeten vorgeen/ auch aller miszierung mangeln/ vnd den lastern (so etliche menschen nit leichtlich aufstreiben können) wider steen/ mit verwunderung gebreift.

Wie die menschen
schon gross
dinge haben
vnd was sie
verachten.

Wer sich

Fig. 25. Social admiration. Emblem II, 11 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVIII r.



Fig. 26. "A good lord" (The Emperor Augustus). Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück [...]* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1532), book I, fol. CI r (private collection).

His majesty; Augustus, his modesty. He did sharply reprove the Romans in this matter and it is written of him that he always shrank from the title of Lord as reproachful and insulting'.¹³⁴ Thus, the Petrarch-Master's image shows the Roman Emperor Augustus, who modestly talks to the people as if he were one of them, as if no ritual behaviour of subordination were required. The three groups of people in the image are probably meant to represent three different social categories ("Stände"), from left to right: (1) ordinary citizens (three men); (2) nobility (three men); and (3) peasants and other lower-class people (four men). In accordance with Augustus's modesty, the lower-class people were also allowed to approach him. They do so with very clumsy, if not ridiculous, gestures.

Of course, when the German *De officiis* first appeared (1531), the readers did not know the origin and the real background of the image. But they understood that in the image the most important social categories ("Stände") were represented: king/emperor – nobility – citizens ("Bürger") – lower-class people. Since both the emblematic poem and Cicero's text

¹³⁴ *De remediis* I, 85, transl. Rawski, vol. I, 229.

discussed social honour, viz. respect(ability), the social categories were relevant for the interpretation of the emblem. In all probability it was impossible for 16th-century readers to meditate on this problem without thinking about the existing social hierarchy – a hierarchy that was greatly differentiated. In this sense, the image facilitates the process of meditation. When Cicero talked about honour and glory, he had a less differentiated social hierarchy in mind, one that was primarily divided between just two classes: the upper class, which could fulfil political offices of the Roman state (*officia*), and the ordinary “people,” which could not. This certainly would not work for 16th-century Germany. Thus, the most important function of the image was probably to “translate” Cicero’s argument into the relevant social categories of 16th-century Germany. Most noteworthy, it transformed the Ciceronian Republican politician into a monarch – an emperor or king. This commentary, interestingly enough, also contradicts Cicero’s argument – that political success is primarily based on virtue and on the positive image people receive from a virtuous man. Of course, one may have hoped that 16th-century kings were virtuous, but it is clear that the principle of succession was hereditary monarchy. Nevertheless, the image demonstrates the effect of an emperor’s or a king’s virtue, and as a side effect, it authorizes and teaches “ständisches Verhalten”.

Emblem II, 12: Christianization, Personification, Allegory

This strategy – that the image translates Cicero’s text into the social hierarchy and codes of the 16th century – is also used by other emblems of the German *De officiis*. A good example is emblem II, 12, ‘Who wants to be virtuous must neglect lust, poverty, illness and death’.¹³⁵ The emblematic poem refers to Cicero, *De officiis* II, 37–38. Cicero explains that people who are motivated by lust and pain, wealth and poverty, and fear of losing their life will not achieve virtue (*virtus*); that it is of the utmost importance to despise those motives; and finally that the psychological quality that helps human beings to do so is justice (*iustitia*).¹³⁶ Only the just man can be virtuous. Only the just man despises bribery.

The image was made especially for this emblem [Fig. 27a and b].¹³⁷ The emblematic poem directly refers to the image, this time in such a way

¹³⁵ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII v: ‘Wer sich lest halten solche band,/ Dy dyse gleichnus macht bekant,/ Im rechten weg hat nit bestand’.

¹³⁶ *De officiis* II, 38.

¹³⁷ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLVIII v.



Fig. 27a. Personification of Virtue and its enemies. Emblem II, 12 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XLVIII v.



Fig. 27b. Detail (private collection).

that the poem makes sense only in connection with the image. 'Solche band' refers to the bonds depicted in the image. The woodcut shows a man striving for virtue, and it identifies the virtuous man with a late medieval knight. It translates Cicero's politician into the chivalrous nobility. Moreover, it translates Cicero's political *virtus* into Christian thinking: the knight who strives for virtue tries to climb to heaven, where Christ is sitting on his throne [Fig. 27b]. The knight is held back by four allegorical personifications: Poverty (Armut), Illness (Kranckheyt), Lust (Wollust), and Death (Tod). Poverty is represented by an old man in rags, Illness by a naked old man with pustules all over his body, Lust by a naked young woman, probably a prostitute, and Death by the traditional skeleton with feathers on his head. This image was invented in all probability by Schwarzenberg. It was also Schwarzenberg who explained the allegorical personifications using German subscriptions, and it was Schwarzenberg who was a knight [Fig. 27b].

Unlike Schwarzenberg, Cicero did not have personifications in mind. He does not talk about 'Wollust', but instead of the plural 'voluptates'; furthermore, it is important to note that Cicero lists positive and negative motivations, whereas for his personifications, Schwarzenberg chose only negative ones. For example, Schwarzenberg has no personification of Wealth. In the image, Cicero's plural 'dolores' is translated not only into a personification, but into something more simple and bodily: the vague, various forms of pain (which also include mental pain) are translated into 'Illness'. Cicero's undefined 'voluptates' are translated into sexual pleasure only, and the personification is from the outset a negative one: a young woman totally lacking chastity, a prostitute, who is in fact the personification of the deadly sin *Luxuria*. Furthermore, the image does not comment on the pivotal role of justice in the process of gaining virtue.

Emblem II, 14 ("The Fox"): Translation into Fable Literature

Emblem II, 14 elaborates from another angle on Cicero's conviction that the politician's honour and fame are based on virtue.¹³⁸ This time, Cicero discusses the opposition of outward appearance and true virtue.¹³⁹ It is tempting to think that for a politician, outward appearance, viz. the simulation of virtue, would be enough to lead to success. Cicero does not agree:

¹³⁸ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L r–v.

¹³⁹ *De officiis* II, 42–43.

a simulation of virtue cannot cause stable success. Genuine virtue is indispensable. Schwarzenberg's emblematic poem summarizes the imitation of virtue under the header of fraud and deceit. This time, he translates Cicero's argument into a kind of fable with a moral conclusion: 'Ein böses end kompt merck hiebei/ Von flascher gstat der gleissneri./ Ein frommer mensch sol also sein/ Wie er des gibt den leüten schein'.¹⁴⁰

As illustration of that moral lesson, Steiner chose a well-known animal from fable literature, the fox [Fig. 28].¹⁴¹ The fox's most important quality was its shrewdness and its ability to deceive. The fox figures in Phaedrus's *Liber fabularum* and in *Aesopus*,¹⁴² and it also appears in the first emblem books, e.g. by Andrea Alciato, who reworked the fable of the fox and the mask (Phaedrus I, 7) into the emblem "Mentem, non formam plus pollere".¹⁴³ Thus, in the German *De officiis*, emblem II, 14 cautions against behaving like a fox. Through the strategy of presenting Cicero's chapter as a fable, Schwarzenberg and Steiner "translated" the Latin ethical treatise for less learned and vernacular readers (who would be well acquainted with fable literature). German translations of the Latin *Esopus* were among the most popular books.¹⁴⁴ It is possible that the image was not made especially for the German *De officiis*. It should represent a fox, but it could be a wolf as well. It may well be that it was taken from a set of illustrations belonging to a manual on hunting or on husbandry, or even from a kind of natural history.

Schwarzenberg's Glosses as Emblematic Commentary and Guidance of Emblematic Meditation

In Cicero's prose text Schwarzenberg inserted glosses between square brackets and 'g' and 't' ('g[...]t'): 'g[' indicates that a gloss ('glossa') begins, and ']' t' that the gloss ends and the 'textus' goes on again.¹⁴⁵ These annotations were meant to help the vernacular reader better understand Cicero's text. In the case of allusions or obscure wording, the glosses would clarify what Cicero meant. At times, some scholarly knowledge was required for the proper understanding of the text – for example, when Cicero implies that

¹⁴⁰ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L v.

¹⁴¹ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L r.

¹⁴² Inter alia, Phaedrus I, 7; 10; 13; 26; 28; IV, 3; 9; 21; Aesopus 1; 9; 15; 27; 124; 426; 474; 518.

¹⁴³ Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. C 5 r.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Dicke G. – Grubmüller K., *Die Fabeln des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Ein Katalog* (Munich: 1987).

¹⁴⁵ For these glosses, cf. Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 302–304.



Fig. 28. "The fox". Emblem II, 14 of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. L r.

his readers would know certain historical facts, philosophical dogmas, or literary works. Schwarzenberg, who was well aware that this was not the case with his intended vernacular audience, supplied the necessary information in his glosses. For example, Cicero many times alludes to the dictator Julius Caesar without mentioning him. In those cases, Schwarzenberg would supply Caesar's name in glosses.¹⁴⁶

But there is more. Schwarzenberg wanted to present *De officiis* – written, after all, by a pagan author – as an ethical *manual for Christians*. Sometimes he used his emblematic poems, sometimes the images to comment on Cicero's text in order to adapt it to Christian users. In his poems, he frequently talks about a 'frum(m)' or 'frumme man', by which he means a good Christian;¹⁴⁷ sometimes he talks about 'repentance' ('boese rew'), another Christian concept.¹⁴⁸ In some emblems, Schwarzenberg identifies values from antiquity with Christian virtues, as in the case of hospitality.¹⁴⁹ In the case of emblem II, 12, the image adapts Cicero's text to Christian values [Fig. 27a and b].¹⁵⁰ In a number of cases Schwarzenberg uses the glosses as a means of translating Cicero's pagan text for Christian users. For example, when presenting Plato's advice (quoted in Cicero's *De officiis* I, 85) that a good politician should principally put aside his personal interests, Schwarzenberg comments in a gloss:

Fürwar es ist sich nitt kleyn sonnder auff das höchst zuo verwundern und davon zuo bessern, das der genannt Cicero unnd anndere frumme heyden gerechtigkeit unnd tugentt hoeher dan ir lebenn und alle zeitliche anfechtung gewegenn habenn. Gott verleyhe und gebe, das wir Christen im liecht unnsers warenn glaubenns der geleychenn auch thuon, unnd dadurch nicht allainn yrdische, sondern auch ewige himlische ere unnd belonnung erlangenn.¹⁵¹

Schwarzenberg's gloss is in this case a prayer to God. It functions similarly to prayers in meditations, viz. as the last, decisive, and conclusive part of the meditation. It is the conclusive prayer Schwarzenberg derives from his

¹⁴⁶ Schwarzenberg was, however, not very consistent with marking his additions. Many times, he forgot that he inserted some "glossary information", and then it looked as if it was simply Cicero's text. In other cases, he denoted parts of Cicero's text as (historical) glosses. Cf. above.

¹⁴⁷ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XXXII r: 'Vil guots der frum mit reddenn stiftt [...]'; fol. XXXIIIr; fol. XL v and LXIII r: the one who does not understand that honesty and utility are connected lacks 'frumbkeyt'; fol. L r '[...] Ein frummer mensch soll also sein/ Wie er das gibt den leuten schein'; fol. LI v: '[...] Ein Junger wirt leycht laster frey,/ Der frummen leüten wonet bey'.

¹⁴⁸ Ibidem fol. XXVII v: '[...] damit mich boese rew nit quel'.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem fol. LVI v.

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem fol. XXXXVIII v.

¹⁵¹ Ibidem fol. XXI r.

emblem. First comes the emblematic poem: it starts with the disgraceful behaviour of a foster father who steals the money of the child entrusted to him. The reader should understand it as an allegorical representation of a politician who follows only his personal interests. The image facilitates this meditation by demonstrating the behaviour of a bad foster father [Fig. 29].¹⁵² Then comes Plato's advice regulating the behaviour of politicians. In a kind of *scala meditationis*, the reader should draw a conclusion from the historical example with respect to his own Christian lifestyle.

This conclusion may also take the shape of the rhetorical thought figure "ex minore ad maiorem". For an emblem of the second book of *De officiis* on the virtuous selflessness of the Roman military leaders Scipio Africanus, Aemilius Paulus, and Lucius Mutius,¹⁵³ Schwarzenberg offers this thought figure in a gloss: 'haben nu die tugentlichen heyden so grosse ding umb eins guotten namens willen bey den menschen zuo erlangen gethan, was sol dan uns Christen an tugentlicher ubung [...] verhindern, dadurch unser guoter nam nit allein zeitlich erhoehet, sunder auch in ewiger sälligkeit under der zal aller ausserwölten funden wirt'.¹⁵⁴ In his gloss, Schwarzenberg describes what the reader should think when meditating on the emblem in question.

From book I of *De officiis*, 102 ff., where Cicero argued that sensual pleasures are unworthy of the dignity of man, Schwarzenberg constructed an emblem.¹⁵⁵ In this passage, Cicero lists all kinds of playful behaviour: joking and jesting, having holidays, and bodily pleasure. There, Schwarzenberg adds a long gloss on "toasting": 'O wie gar weit weichen die zuotrincker von disen nöttigen tugentlichen leren die durch willige unmenschliche füllerey ihr natürliche vernunft also verplenden unnd entschicken, das sie damit nit allein von menschlicher art geschyden, sonder auch von vil thyeren mit bescheydenheit und mancherley schicklichkeit fern ubertroffen werden. Gott sey geklagt das solche aller schwerste plage williger füllerey und damit so vil boeser [...] in etlichen hochteütschen landen, und sonderlich bey uns Francken wider das löblich herkommen unser eltern so schedlich eyngebrochen hat'.¹⁵⁶ Through his gloss, Schwarzenberg guides the reader's meditation in a specific direction; he should meditate on the habit of drinking and eating too much. With his gloss, Schwarzenberg adapts his emblematic Cicero to his goal: the moral education of the German nation.

¹⁵² Ibidem fol. XX v.

¹⁵³ Ibidem fols. LIX v–LX r.

¹⁵⁴ Ibidem fol. LX r.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem fol. XXV r–v.

¹⁵⁶ Ibidem fol. XXV v.

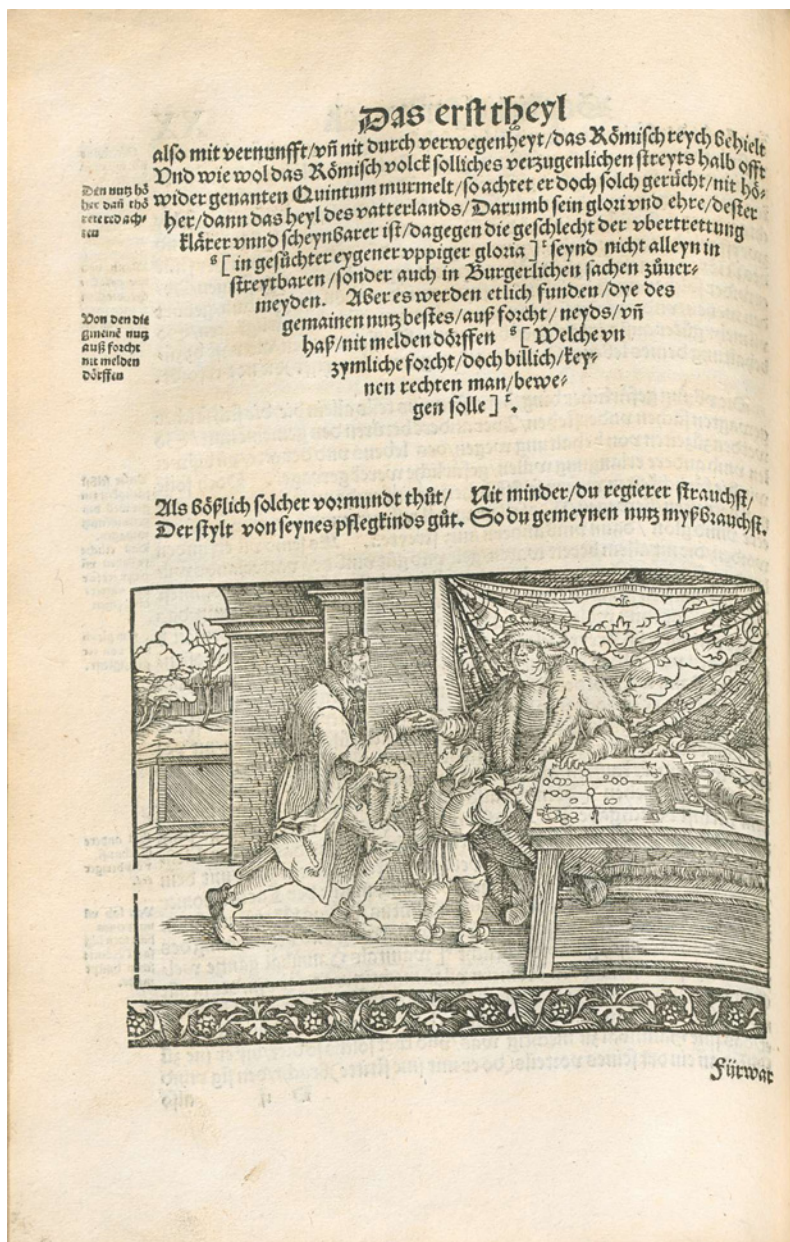


Fig. 29. A bad foster father. Emblem of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XX v.

With the same aim in mind, Schwarzenberg had composed a short treatise *Against Drinking Parties: Ein buechle wider das zuotrinckenn*, which Steiner would publish later in the *Teütsch Cicero* (1534; 1535; 1537; 1540; 1545).¹⁵⁷ The title illustration, originally designed by the Petrarch-Master for the German *De remediis*, shows a number of heavily drinking Germans from about 1520 [Fig. 30].¹⁵⁸

*Emblematic Reorganization and Refinement:
Christian Egenolff's Edition of the German De officiis (1550)*

After Steiner got into serious financial problems in the mid 1540s, the woodcuts of a number of his projects, among them Petrarch's *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* and the German *De officiis*, as well as other printing material, were bought by the Frankfurt printer Christian Egenolff. Egenolff published the *De officiis* anew¹⁵⁹ and edited it in a way that stressed the emblematic character of the work even more. He changed it predominantly in 14 respects:

1. He designed a new main title and applied a new title illustration – instead of a historical example, he used an emblematic image with symbolic representations (laurels, sword, crown, lamb; Fig. 31).¹⁶⁰
2. He deleted all connections of the work to, and the memory of, the inventor of the emblem book Johann von Schwarzenberg.
3. He deleted the rich index register of seven folio pages that Steiner had printed at the beginning of the work.¹⁶¹
4. Instead, Egenolff offered a short table of contents of one and a half folio pages, which, in fact, is a *list of emblems* (the entries give the titles of the singular emblems in an abbreviated form).¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ *Teütsch Cicero* fol. LXXIX r ff.

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem fol. LXXIX r.

¹⁵⁹ Frankfurt a. M.: 1550; 1554; 1565. Vgl. Degen, *Litteratur der deutschen Übersetzungen* 82; Scheel, *Johann Freiherr zu Schwarzenberg* 371; Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption* no. 149.

¹⁶⁰ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit.*//

*Des Fürtrefflichen hochberümpften Römers Marci Tullii Ciceronis/
Drei Bücher an seinen Suon Marcum. Von Gebürlichen wercken, Tugentsamen ämptern
unnd zuogehörungen eines ieden wol unnd recht lebenden Menschen; auss dem Latin in Teütsch
verwandelt und mit schönen Figuren fürgebildet* (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550).

¹⁶¹ Fol. v v ff.

¹⁶² *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. <i>r-v.



Fig. 30. Heavily drinking Germans. Title page of Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Ein buechle wider das zuotrinckenn*, in idem, *Teütsch Cicero* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1534) fol. LXXIX r.

5. He deleted the explanations of the Roman state offices, which were printed in the Steiner editions at the beginning of the work.¹⁶³
6. Maybe most importantly, Egenolff inserted emblematic title inscriptions.
7. He reduced the marginal annotations to a considerable degree.
8. He deleted the glosses that had been inserted in Cicero's prose text by Schwarzenberg.
9. In a number of places, Egenolff abbreviated the text of the translated Cicero; what he primarily tried to reduce were scholarly remarks and (in his view exuberant) learned examples and quotations from Greek and Roman history, philosophy, and literature.¹⁶⁴
10. He reworked Schwarzenberg's emblematic poems. Especially in the first book of *De officiis*, the poems became longer and more substantial. In a few cases, Egenolff inserted completely new poems. For the whole work, he redesigned the poems into rhymed pairs of verses.
11. In a couple of cases, Egenolff replaced the Steiner images with other ones.
12. In a few cases, he deleted Steiner's and Schwarzenberg's emblems (illustrations and poems) without giving a new alternative.¹⁶⁵
13. In rare cases, Egenolff added a new emblem with a new illustration and a new emblematic poem.¹⁶⁶
14. He also thoroughly revised the German text of *De officiis*.

¹⁶³ Fols. iii v–v r.

¹⁶⁴ E.g. *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fols. XXV r; XXVII r.

¹⁶⁵ For example, Steiner's emblems at *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. LXXVII v and LXXVIII r.

¹⁶⁶ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XXXVI v. However, this emblem is an extension of an already existing emblem, fol. XXXVI r "Der mensch zu guotem end sich kert,/ Der aufrecht und on falsch handtiert". The image shows a merchant in his office studying his books. He suffers from his way of life and thinks about a free and happy existence in the countryside, as the picture in the circle above his head indicates. The following combination of image and poem (made by Egenolff) elaborates the merchant's dream (fol. XXXVI v): 'So ich bei aller welt befind/ Den falsch und untrew so geschwind/ In allen händeln vortel gross/ Mit truog und luog, an ehren bloss/ Drumb lust mich keinr handtierung mehr./ Dann mich zu meinen Bawguetern ker,/ Meinn ackerbaw und Weingart pflantz,/ Acht nimmer der händler gross vinantz'. The image shows a man on horseback who inspects his vineyard and cornfields in the countryside. Both images were taken from the Petrarch-Master's *De remedis* set: fol. XXXVI r belongs to chapter II, 56 "On Difficulties and Hard Work"; and fol. XXXVI v to chapter I, 57 "On Fertile Land". Thus, Egenolff created an exceptional constellation in the *De officiis* emblem book: that one emblem was equipped with two images and two emblematic poems. In later emblematics, this happened more often, for example, in Reusner's *Picta Poesis Ovidiana* (1580). But, interestingly, already in Steiner's first edition there was such a case (*Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. LXXVIII r). Besides, these emblems were deleted by Egenolff.

Unlike Steiner, Egenolff presented the German *De officiis* as an emblem book right on the title page by using a true emblem: a symbolic image accompanied by an emblematic poem that explained the meaning of the objects that can be seen on the *pictura* (laurels, sword, crown, lamb) [Fig. 31]. In the image, the objects are located on stairs; the objects on top are clearly more important and more worthy than the lower ones. The poem says: 'Go away, sword and laurels! / (Here) a wise tongue wears the crown; / War is waged prudently by this wise tongue alone, / That talks about peace, as the patient lamb'.¹⁶⁷

The poem reads as a variation on Cicero's famous epic one-liner 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae', which is quoted in *De officiis*.¹⁶⁸ Thus, the reader is already invited by the title emblem to understand the work as an *ethical manual*, and furthermore as a manual *for peaceful people*. It is not meant to be a manual for knights, the champions of chivalrous society. As the poem states, the book does not teach readers how to get famous in war (*sword*), but how to act in a civilized way, i.e. through educated speech (*weise Zung*) in a civilized setting (*friden*).

Also, the new main title *Vonn Gebuere und Billicheit – On Proper and Reasonable Behaviour* – points in that direction. As the title page indicates, the audience Egenolff had in mind does not consist especially of politicians or the holders of political offices. He devotes the emblematic manual to *everybody* who wants to live in a proper and reasonable, i.e. civilized and peaceful, way, or – as the subtitle says – 'eines ieden wol unnd recht lebenden menschen'.

The people he addresses in this way are, of course, the citizens (*burgers*). Cicero, on the other hand, wrote *De officiis* for the officers of the Roman state, and although he personally had a preference for administration in peacetime,¹⁶⁹ he clearly includes the war offices of army leaders (*praetor, propaetore* etc.) Egenolff, however, excludes them by using

¹⁶⁷ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit*, title page: 'Du Schwert und Lorbeerkrantz weich ab/ Ein weise Zung die Kron auffhab/ Die klüglich allen krieg verricht/ Wie gduligs Lämmlin friden spricht'. The image is discussed in more detail as an emblem of the first book of *De officiis*, fols. XVIIv–XVIIIr; Egenolff gives to the emblem the following title: "Dass rümlicher sei und grösser manlicheit in Burgerlichen sachen dann in Kriegshändeln fürtrefflich sein". The poem has new verses added by Egenolff; in Schwarzenberg's poem two main symbols, the crown and the lamb, were lacking. See *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XVII v. Schwarzenberg took the symbols of the sword and the laurels from Cicero's famous one-liner. Probably he did not have in mind the emblematic image printed by Steiner. Thus, Steiner is the inventor of the emblematic image, and with his new verses Egenolff better adapted the poem to the image.

¹⁶⁸ I, 77.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *ibidem* I, 74–78.



Fig. 31. Title page of *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) (private collection).

the emblemized form of Cicero's preference as the title emblem. We can also see who Egenolff's intended audience is through the fact that he deleted the explanations on the Roman state offices that were printed in Steiner's editions.¹⁷⁰ Egenolff did not edit the work for officers, and therefore he did not want to focus attention on the Roman offices.

What is the impact of Egenolff's intervention to annihilate Johann von Schwarzenberg (2)? In Steiner's editions, the emblem book was closely connected with Schwarzenberg's person. On the back side of the title page, there was a large portrait of the nobleman with the claim that said portrait was made by Dürer [Fig. 3]. In two prefaces, Steiner neatly described the pivotal role Schwarzenberg had played in the making of the book. Egenolff avoided mentioning Schwarzenberg's name – possibly because Schwarzenberg belonged to a past generation (+1528) and to the chivalrous society Egenolff did not want to address his emblem book, and possibly because Egenolff wanted to claim the inventive presentation of *De officiis* as an emblem book—*On Proper and Reasonable Behaviour*. If he had printed one of Steiner's prefaces, this honour inevitably would have gone to Schwarzenberg.

Why did Egenolff leave out the rich index register (3) and replace it with a "list of emblems" (4)? This was another means to strengthen the character of *On Proper and Reasonable Behaviour* as a true emblem book. The rich register – albeit in the vernacular – had more the outlook of a scholarly edition of a classical text. And Schwarzenberg, in fact, had made a big effort to better understand Cicero's text by analyzing its contents in detail. Also, many of his very numerous marginal annotations serve this goal (7); in fact, they offer a second index of the contents of *De officiis* that could be used when "scrolling" through the work or engaging in a random reading. Egenolff was not fond of this analytical presentation. He considered it superfluous and distracting. Rather, he was inclined to divide Cicero's text as clearly as possible into the units he considered relevant—and these were the singular emblems. So he tried to reduce further subdivisions to a minimum.

An even more important device was Egenolff's insertion of title inscriptions. Through this device he streamlined and stressed the emblematic structure of the work: (a) emblem title + (b) emblematic poem + (c) image (*pictura*) + (d) prose text. In Schwarzenberg's conception (which had been taken over by Steiner), the emblems did not have a proper title: the

¹⁷⁰ Fols. iii v–v r.

title's task was fulfilled mostly by the German poems, which in general did not exceed three lines. The advantage of Egenolff's new (prose) titles was that they presented the emblems' topics more clearly, whereas the poems henceforth could be read more like emblematic epigrams, i.e. as poems that focus on the evaluation, meaning, and memorization of the content. The fact that the title inscriptions were printed in a larger font size also facilitated the use of the German *De officiis* as an emblem book. Now the reader could, in fact, orientate himself using only the title inscriptions.

Another advantage of the new title inscriptions was that the poem could focus solely on the function of the emblematic epigram. Accordingly, Egenolff rewrote many poems and made them longer, especially with respect to the first book of *De officiis*. Sometimes Egenolff used the occasion to establish via extensions of the poems a closer relationship between image and epigram. For example, he added to the poem of emblem I, 10 two lines in which he pointed to the devil that was visible in the image: 'Wo aber Geiz nimpt überhandt/ Da felt man in des Satans bandt' [Fig. 32].¹⁷¹ The establishment of a closer bond between poem and image was all the more useful here, since the illustration originally stemmed from Petrarch's *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* I, 53.¹⁷² In Cicero's *De officiis* text, of course, there was nothing about the devil. For emblem I, 11 Egenolff added a completely new poem (of 12 lines) that related exactly to the image. As the image demonstrates, the emblem is about men caring for and assisting each other: providing one's neighbour with fire, and showing the right way to strangers [Fig. 33].¹⁷³

In the majority of the discussed emblems of the second book, the title inscriptions render the content of the emblem in question much clearer and are more to the point (e.g. II, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, and 14). In the case of emblem II, 3, the poem in fact announced only a kind of encyclopedic enumeration: 'Allhie synd wyr gar klare sag/ Wye mensch dem menschen nutzen mag'.¹⁷⁴ The point is, however, that the most important source of all commodities is human society and civilization. This is indicated by the new prose title: "Woher mann allen nutz und unnutz/ und ein mensch

¹⁷¹ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. X v.

¹⁷² Book I, fol. LXIX v.

¹⁷³ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XII r.

¹⁷⁴ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XLI v.



Fig. 32. Avarice. Emblem from *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. X v. Detail (private collection).

vom anderen solichs alles haben mag”.¹⁷⁵ Whereas the poem of emblem II, 4 struggles with stating what the emblem is about, Egenolff’s title is as clear as it can be: “Dass die grösste verderbung die menschen einander selbst anthuon”.¹⁷⁶ In the case of emblem II, 6, the poem rather obscured Cicero’s argument because it evoked the impression that Cicero directly advised assassination: ‘Tirannen und ein hund der tobt/ Wer die ertödt, der wirt gelobt’. Cicero, however, argues there only that, as Egenolff’s title indicates, “Einem Oberherrn ist nichts besser dann von seinen Underthanen geliebt werden. Und kein grimmig tyrannisch vergwaltigung lang besteht” [Fig. 12a and b].¹⁷⁷ The emblematic poem of II, 9 translates Cicero’s text into a German proverb, ‘dz man mit nachparn schewren heb’, and Egenolff’s new title is much more precise and reflects Cicero’s argument:

¹⁷⁵ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XLI v.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem* fol. XLII v.

¹⁷⁷ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XLIII r.



Fig. 33. Providing one's neighbour with fire, showing the right way to strangers. Emblem from *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. XII r.

“Dass man bei iederman gunst zu haben sich befeissen sol”.¹⁷⁸ The title inscription of emblem II, 10 helps to better understand Cicero’s text, since it does not adopt the somewhat disturbing shift in perspective Schwarzenberg’s poem had introduced. According to the new title, the emblem deals with “Warmit mann trew und glauben bei den leüten überkomme”.¹⁷⁹ In the case of emblem II, 7, the new title covers the other part of Cicero’s argument, namely, that the results of tyrannical administration are very bad: “Tirannisch Regiment nimpt ein böß end”.¹⁸⁰ This case demonstrates

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem fol. XLVI v.

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem fol. XLVII r.

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem fol. XLVIII v.

the potential of the new titles: title and poem may deal with different aspects of the emblem's topic. If the reader combines the title and the poem with the illustration, he may come to a new moral understanding of the image. In this case, the title in fact presents a kind of moral conclusion: that tyrants will be punished for their unjust and cruel regimes. If the reader meditates on the connection between the title and the image, he may conclude that the tyrant shall be punished in a similar way: that he shall be assassinated and beheaded. Also, in the case of emblem II, 6, the new title guides the reader in a direction different from that of the poem. When the reader looks at the image, the title invites him to think that 'no tyrannical regime lasts for long'. Then he will discover that the image depicts the murder of Caesar by Brutus [Fig. 15].¹⁸¹

Schwarzenberg's reduction of the marginal annotations is, in its essence, also connected to the insertion of title inscriptions. Since the title inscriptions and the marginal annotations were each meant to present a short summary of the content, one of these devices became superfluous. Since the basic content was now given in the title inscriptions, the marginal notes became largely unnecessary. The annihilation of the marginal annotations would stress the unity of the single emblems and prevent the reader from being distracted from emblematic meditation.

In some cases Egenolff replaced Steiner's images with other ones. Such cases, although they do not occur very often, may nevertheless reveal differences in emblem poetics. One emblem of the first book of *De officiis* is on shame and the function of clothes.¹⁸² Cicero argues that shame – and thus also the use of clothes that cover the pudenda – is natural: nature has already taken care that the beautiful parts of the human body (such as the face and the body's shape/figure) can be seen, but its ugly parts (such as the genitals and the anus) stay hidden (e.g. by pubic hair).¹⁸³ Cicero advises – in the name of honesty – against mentioning the genitals by their proper names (such as *penis*, *mentula*, *cunnus*).¹⁸⁴ Steiner had these thoughts illustrated by a beautiful naked woman with long, blonde hair, a kind of Venus figure [Fig. 34],¹⁸⁵ albeit without any attribute that would identify her as Venus. The young woman is almost entirely naked; only

¹⁸¹ Ibidem fol. XLIII v.

¹⁸² *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fols. XXX v–XXXI r; *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. XXX r–v.

¹⁸³ *De officiis* I, 126 ff.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem I, 127.

¹⁸⁵ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. XXX v.



Fig. 34. Venus figure. Emblem of the German *De officiis. Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531) fol. XXX v. Detail (private collection).

in front of her *pudenda* is she negligently holding up a small, wrapped cloth. Steiner perfectly understood what Cicero meant in this passage. It is, however, significant that he associated man's bodily beauty immediately with a naked female body, whereas Cicero's text does not suggest this. Since Cicero wrote the treatise for the Roman politician, he primarily had the male body in mind. Steiner's image displays a free and humanistic all'antica attitude towards the naked human body, like that of, for example, Italian Renaissance artists ca. 1500–1530. Similar images of naked female bodies also appear in Steiner's editions of Alciato's *Emblematum liber* – for example, Venus,¹⁸⁶ the personification of the 'Naked Truth' on the emblem "Fidei symbolum",¹⁸⁷ three naked women (judgement of Paris) on the emblem "In studiosum captum amore",¹⁸⁸ or the personification of "Occasion".¹⁸⁹

Egenolff, however, was not pleased with Steiner's "Venus" image. He considered the picture of a naked woman to be indecent and the direct opposite of the honesty that was the focus of Cicero's argument. Like Steiner, Egenolff associated bodily beauty with the female body, but he was convinced that a young woman honestly dressed would do much better. So he searched for another illustration, and he found one in the Petrarch-Master's *De remediis* set [Fig. 35].¹⁹⁰ The relevant chapter of *De remediis* is "On a splendid body".¹⁹¹ Petrarch talked about male¹⁹² and female bodies as well. *Ratio*'s arguments in this chapter are mainly about vanity and the transience of all earthly things. In a passage in the middle of the chapter, *Ratio* describes the total decay of female beauty in old age:¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ 1531, fol. F<1>r.

¹⁸⁷ Ibidem fol. <E 7>r.

¹⁸⁸ Ibidem fol. <D 6>r.

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem fol. <A 8>r.

¹⁹⁰ *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* fol. II v.

¹⁹¹ I, 2 "De forma corporis eximia".

¹⁹² I, 2: 'GAUDIUM: Forma corporis mira est. RATIO: Bene ais mira. Nam quid hac vanitate mirabilius? Quot delectabilibus abstinent formosi iuvenes? Quot suscipiunt labores? Quanta sibi inferunt supplicia, ut formosiores non sint quidem, sed appareant. [...] – JOY: The appearance of my body is marvelous. REASON: You can say "marvelous" all right, for what is marvelous than this vanity? How many delightful things handsome young men have to give up! How many troubles they go to, what tortures they inflict upon themselves in order not even to be, but to look more attractive! [...] (transl. Rawski, vol. I, 17, with changes).

¹⁹³ Ibidem.



Fig. 35. "A splendid body" or Vanity. Petrarch, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück* [...]
(Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1932), book I, fol. II v. Detail (private collection).

JOY: The appearance of my body is admired by everybody.

REASON: And yet, within a very short time, this comeliness and glow of your face will change. These blond locks shall fall out, and what remains of your hair shall become white, ugly lines will furrow you soft cheeks and the fair forehead. The cheerful brightness and the shining stars of your eyes shall be covered by a melancholy cloud; and rotten decay shall consume and wear away the radiant white ivory of your teeth, changing not only their colour, but also their regular array. The upright neck and nimble shoulders will be bent, the smooth throat wrinkled, and those withered hands and crooked feet will not seem as your own. What more? The day will come when you do not recognize yourself in the mirror. [...].¹⁹⁴

The Petrarch-Master's image seems to refer especially to this passage;¹⁹⁵ it shows a beautiful young lady with long, blonde hair, a beautiful face, a long neck, and adorable shoulders. Nevertheless, the Petrarch-Master did not literally depict Petrarch's text, nor is the lady in the woodcut a

¹⁹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Michel, "Transformation" 366.

realistic portrait of the woman Petrarch described in the above quoted passage. The image the Petrarch-Master designed in fact represents a personification – of Vanity, *Vanitas*, or Vainglory, as can be deduced from the mirror (which the lady holds in her left hand),¹⁹⁶ the flowers (which she holds in her right hand), and the peacock¹⁹⁷ (which covers the whole right side of the image). Thus, Egenolff replaced Steiner's naked woman with a highly *symbolic image*, a personification.

Also, if one looks at the new, programmatic image on the title page of *De officiis* [Fig. 31], one may conclude that Egenolff had an even greater preference for symbolic images than Steiner did. The image Egenolff combined with Cicero, *De officiis* I, 126 ff. offers a Christian commentary on the pagan text. Cicero's argument is about a kind of social aesthetics, about decent appearance in public spaces. By means of the image Egenolff suggests a Christian interpretation of the passage. He guides the reader first to a meditation on Vanity, especially of physical beauty. To be "caught" by physical beauty is sinful behaviour that will lead to spiritual death. An image that directs the reader to this meditation is included in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, chapter 92 [Fig. 36]. In this image the lines of thought are made more explicit: while the young lady is indulging in her beauty, she is caught by the devil, who acts as a bird hunter. The young lady is the bird sitting on his "Leimrute". Of course, that is not at all what Cicero meant. But guided by the image's comment, the reader will understand the passage in a different way. He will read the passage as if Cicero were criticizing physical beauty as such, as if the whole of the body belongs to the realm of the earthly, and thus worthless, things. The image's comment thus also bridges the difference between antique "shame culture" (Cicero) and Christian "guilt culture". The reader will understand Cicero's call for social decency as a directive to avoid sinful behaviour.

Another instance in which Egenolff changed Steiner's image is emblem II, 14, containing Cicero's advice that the politician's honour and fame should be based on genuine virtue.¹⁹⁸ As demonstrated above, through addition of the image of the fox, Steiner "translated" the philosophical argument of the Latin treatise for vernacular readers into fable

¹⁹⁶ Marle R. van, *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (The Hague: 1931/1932) 53 ff.; Michel P. (ed.), *Präsenz ohne Substanz. Beiträge zur Symbolik des Spiegels* (Zurich: 2003); Hartlaub G.F., *Zauber des Spiegels. Geschichte und Bedeutung des Spiegels in der Kunst* (Munich: 1951).

¹⁹⁷ For the symbolic meaning of the peacock cf. Michel, "Transformation" 368–369.

¹⁹⁸ *Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen* fol. L r–v; cf. above.



Fig. 36. “Überhebung der hochfart” (Vainglory caught by the devil). Illustration to Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff* (Basel, Johann Bergmann: 1494) no. 92.

discourse. The fox is conceived as a fable animal that symbolizes fraud and deceit [Fig. 28]. The fox represents the opportunistic politician who cheats the people, who – according to Schwarzenberg’s emblematic poem – is not “fromm”, but engages in “gleissnerei”.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zuogehörungen fol. L v: ‘Ein böses end kompt merck hiebei/ Von flascher gestalt der gleissnerei./ Ein frummer mensch sol also sein/ Wie er das gibt den leüten schein’.

Egenolff, who was not happy with this image, replaced it with another, which he found again in the Petrarch-Master's *De remediis* set, the one for chapter I, 13 [Fig. 37].²⁰⁰ As I have shown in another publication, this image represents a harsh Lutheran attack on the Catholic Church.²⁰¹ It shows the worshipping of an awful demon that sits on a rock: the Catholic "klosterkatze". The "klosterkatze" is the personification of Catholicism as devilish heresy, false belief, and hypocrisy. Luther himself used the "klosterkatze" as a favourite proverbial expression.²⁰² The hypocrisy is symbolized



Fig. 37. The worshipping of the "klosterkatze". Emblem II, 14 of *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* [...] (Frankfurt a. M., Christoph Egenolff: 1550) fol. L r. Detail (private collection).

²⁰⁰ *Vonn Gebüre und Billicheit* fol. L r.

²⁰¹ Enenkel, "Der Petrarca des Petrarca-Meisters" 95–104, section "Verlagerung in den Diskurs Lutheranischer Religionspolemik".

²⁰² Cf. Röhrich, *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten* 856–857, s.v. "Klosterkatze".

by the larger-than-life rosary the demon cat holds in its paws. The cat is worshipped by the Catholic *clerus* – monks, nuns, and priests. The fact that the image denies the authority of the Catholic Church is demonstrated by a figure located just one step higher on “the rock”: it is St. Peter, the “rock” of the Catholic Church and the first Pope. He is just about to receive the keys as the symbol for the Pope’s authority as successor of Christ. It is no coincidence that the bodies and gestures of the “klosterkatze” and those of St. Peter are designed in a remarkable parallelism: the purpose is the total deauthorization of the Roman papacy. Via this device the Petrarch-Master identifies St. Peter and the Roman Pope as a devilish demon. Of course, that was not what Petrarch meant in his chapter I, 13: there, *Ratio* collected arguments in order to avoid *superbia* in religious matters. Petrarch had not the slightest intention of denying the authority of the Roman papacy.

The image “invented” by Egenolff comments on Cicero’s text in a way that heavily influences the reader’s perception. In the first place, the image identifies Cicero’s true and genuine virtue with Lutheranism. It forces the reader to identify with Lutheranism and pushes him – if he is not yet a Protestant – to abdicate from Catholicism and the Roman papacy. The message is: whoever is a Catholic is a liar, cheater, and hypocrite. Interestingly, in his emblematic poem Schwarzenberg already applied the text of Cicero’s chapter to religious matters; one may say that he “Christianized” it: ‘Ein *frummer* mensch sol also sein/ Wie er das gibt den leüten schein’. And interestingly, Schwarzenberg was a Lutheran, too. It is not clear what image he had in mind, although it certainly was not the Petrarch-Master’s elaborate *inventio*. The image brings about that the reader will first engage in a Lutheran meditation. Then he will read and understand Cicero’s text from this perspective. In this perspective the text does not refer to politicians, but to ordinary citizens; not to political behaviour, but to religious belief. The true glory mentioned by Cicero does not refer to the earthly fame of successful politicians, but to religious glory the adherents of the true religion, i.e. Luther’s reformation, will achieve. This glory is not at all about fame, but about the future existence in the Christian heaven that the “righteous” people will achieve. On the other hand, Catholic ‘gleissnerei’ will lead to hell. Also, this last image testifies to the enormous power the comment exerted on the reader’s understanding and interpretation of the German *De officiis*.

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UNDERSTANDING NATIONAL ANTIQUITY.
TRANSFORMATIONS OF TACITUS'S *GERMANIA*
IN BEATUS RHENANUS'S *COMMENTARIOLUS*¹

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SUMMARY

This article inquires about the strategies of appropriation Beatus Rhenanus developed in his commentary on Tacitus's *Germania*, titled *Commentariolus* (printed in 1519), in order to construct a plausible Antiquity of the German nation. Rhenanus's comments on Maroboduus, King of the Marcomanni, who is mentioned only marginally in Tacitus's *Germania*, serve as an example. In his comments on this passage, Rhenanus constructs a national Antiquity of the Germans by combining certain quotations from Velleius Paterculus and Tacitus's *Annals*. In doing so, he describes Maroboduus both as a successful and a failing leader of political and military actions. But at the same time, Rhenanus intentionally omits certain negative aspects mentioned in Tacitus's *Annals* that show Maroboduus as a traitor to the German nation – which, of course, would seriously endanger his effort to introduce Maroboduus as a hero of the German Antiquity, and hence a founding father of the German nation. It becomes apparent that by commenting on the *Germania*, Rhenanus does not so much aim to glorify German Antiquity as to find a sound historical foundation in order to prove its very existence. Furthermore, a humanist commentary such as Rhenanus's on the *Germania* creates a significant narrative that differs both in content and structure from those of historiographies, geographic and ethnographic descriptions, and biographies.

1. *Introduction*

In processes of developing group-specific identities, such as national or regional ones, the search for the collective past is of fundamental importance, because with regard to the collective perception of the present, historical narratives create commonality. It is important to understand that

¹ Rhenanus Beatus, *Commentariolus, vetusta Germaniae populorum vocabula paucis explicans et obiter alia quaedam*, in Froben Johannes (ed.), *P. Cornelii Taciti De moribus et populis Germaniae libellus. Cum commentariolo vetera Germaniae populorum vocabula paucis explicante* (Basel, Johannes Froben: 1519) 43 (wrongly numbered with 34) – 79 (wrongly numbered with 97).

collective history is created in the framework of certain textual or visual media, genres of texts or images. Collective histories can be found in all sorts of texts with some historical content. Such texts have very much the character of constructions, for it is precisely their aim to bring the experiential world into a meaningful relation to the collective past. This, however, does not mean that the wheel always has to be reinvented: the search for the past usually aims to find still existing points of reference: for example, texts and historical models, in which one can inscribe one's own ideas or counter them.

Therefore, it is probably no surprise that the *Germania* of Tacitus, especially for German humanists, who were interested in historical questions concerning their own nation, represented the first and most important point of reference, since it is one of the few ancient texts that (supposedly) offered textual evidence for the ancient status of their own present experiential world, and in this way evidence for the antiquity of the German nation.²

The *Germania* is – and perhaps this is an important part of what made it so attractive to (German) humanist readers – a self-contained work written about 98 AD, in which Tacitus had described Germanic geography and ethnography, and had focused on the cultural characteristics of certain Germanic tribes.³

In late antiquity, the *Germania* disappeared almost entirely, and it was hardly noticed or received in the Middle Ages.⁴ Immediately after its

² For an exemplary overview about appropriation of the *Germania* by certain German humanists, see Krapf L., *Germanenmythos und Reichsideologie. Frühhumanistische Rezeptionsweisen der taciteischen Germania*, (Tübingen: 1979) 68–116; Krebs C.B., *Negotiatio Germaniae. Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel* (Göttingen: 2005) 190–250; Mundt F., "Studien", Mundt F. (ed.), *Beatus Rhenanus. Rerum Germanicarum libri tres (1531), Ausgabe, Übersetzung, Studien* (Tübingen: 2008) 497–522.

³ A detailed description of the *Germania* of Tacitus must be absent here. For the historical circumstances and the thematic focus of the *Germania*, see Flach D., "Die *Germania* des Tacitus in ihrem literaturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang", in Jankuhn H. – Timpe D. (eds.), *Beiträge zum Verständnis der Germania des Tacitus, Teil 1. Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Nord- und Mitteleuropas im Jahr 1986* (Göttingen: 1989) 27–58; Bringmann K., "Topoi in der taciteischen *Germania*", ibidem 59–78; Timpe D., "Die Absicht der *Germania* des Tacitus", ibidem 106–127.

⁴ For the transmission of the *Germania*, see Heubner H., "Die Überlieferung der *Germania* des Tacitus", ibidem 16–26. Dieter Mertens reflects on the few exceptions that attest to the use of Tacitus's *Germania* by medieval scholars: see Mertens D., "Die Instrumentalisierung der *Germania* des Tacitus durch die deutschen Humanisten", in Beck H. – Geuenich D. – Steuer H. – Hakelberg D. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch". Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (Berlin – New York: 2004) 37–101, esp. 40–58.

spectacular and very dubious rediscovery in the first half and the middle of the 15th century, the *Germania* was received for the first time and exploited for interpretations of (German) history in a discussion between Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464) and Martin Mayr, a secretary of the bishop of Mainz; by Giannantonio Campano (1429–1477); and finally by German humanists, such as Conrad Celtis (1459–1508), Heinrich Bebel (1472–1518), and Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528).⁵ The *editio princeps* of *Germania* was edited in 1472 in Bologna as a six-page appendix (fols. 97r–102v) to a Latin translation of Diodorus Siculus made by Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), and it was entitled ‘golden booklet’, *libellus aureus*.⁶ However, right around 1500 the *Germania* finally crossed over the Alps and entered German-speaking countries.⁷

This kind of national concentration of the editions around 1500 can be understood as an indication that German scholarship developed a keen interest in the *Germania*, and that the work – understood as an ancient text dealing with national antiquity – should be made available to this circle of recipients. This perception correlates well with the distribution of the commentaries on the *Germania* in which an intensive and substantive discussion is made about the ancient text.⁸ Therefore, even with a

⁵ For an overview of the rediscovery of the *Germania* and of the humanistic exploitation of it in the second half of the 15th century and the early 16th century, still fundamental are: Krapf, *Germanenmythos und Reichsideologie*; Kloft H., “Die *Germania* des Tacitus und das Problem eines deutschen Nationalbewusstseins”, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72,1 (1990) 93–114; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*.

⁶ Tacitus, *De situ moribus et populis Germaniae libellus aureus*, in *Diodori Siculi historiarum priscarum a Poggio in latinum traducti liber primus* (Bologna, Balthasar Azoguidus: 1472) fols. 97r–102v; see also Hirsemann U.A. (ed.), *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. VII (Leipzig: 1938) no. 8374.

⁷ E.g. *De origine et situ Germanorum liber* (Vienna, Johann Winterburg: ca. 1498–1502); *De situ, moribus et populis Germanorum aureus libellus* (Leipzig, Wolfgang Stöckel: 1502); *De situ, moribus et populis Germanorum* (Erfurt, Hans Knappe the Elder: 1509); *De situ, moribus et populis Germanie Libellus Aureus* (Leipzig, Melchior Lotter the Elder: 1509); *De situ, moribus et populis Germanorum* Conr<adi> Celtis Protucii Poete fragmenta quedam de iisdem, scitu admodum utilia (Vienna, Johann Singriener the Elder.: 1515).

⁸ The first printed commentaries on the *Germania* are Rhenanus, *Commentariolus*; Althamer Andreas, *Scholia in Cornelium Tacitum Romanum historicum, De situ, moribus, populisque Germaniae, ad Illustrissimum Principem D<ominum> Georgium Marchionem Brandenburgensem*, etc. (Nuremberg, Friedrich Peyper: 1529); Althamer Anderas, *Commentaria Germaniae in P. Cornelii Taciti Equitis Rom<ani> libellum de situ, moribus et populis Germanorum, ad magnanimos Principes D<ominum> Georgium et D<ominum> Albrechtum iuniorem Marchiones Brandenburgenses etc.* (Nuremberg, Johannes Petreius: 1536); Melanchthon Philipp, *Vocabula regionum et gentium quae recensentur in hoc libello Taciti, in Ulrich von Hutten, Arminius Dialogus Huttenicus, continens res Arminii in Germania gestas, P. Cornelii Taciti, de moribus et populis Germaniae libellus. Adiecta est brevis interpretatio appellationum partium Germaniae* (Wittenberg, Joseph Klug: 1538) fols. E ii v–F vi v.

certain delay a concentration in the German-speaking countries can be witnessed, too.⁹ For the construction of a German national self-image, the *Germania* apparently is the indispensable text. Thus, for German humanists the view into the book of Tacitus corresponds with the view into their own national past.¹⁰

While research literature has already paid attention to such important authors as Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis, Heinrich Bebel, or Jakob Wimpfeling,¹¹ humanistic commentaries on the *Germania* have hardly been noticed in previous research,¹² although it is worth considering this type of text in order to further illuminate certain humanistic strategies of transformations and appropriations of the *Germania*. In addition, they represent an important cultural practice of humanist scholarship as well as a specific medium for humanists to communicate, transfer, and appropriate ancient knowledge.¹³ Humanistic commentaries have certain limitations, and at the same time they open complementary spaces for interpretations. While historiographic works have to abide by their own conceptual scheme and the 'right' arrangement of the material

⁹ See Ulery R.W. Jr., "Cornelius Tacitus", in Cranz E. (ed.), *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, vol. VI (Washington: 1986) 87–174.

¹⁰ See also Mertens D., "Beatus Rhenanus. Der Blick in die Bücher und der Blick in die Welt", in Brather S. – Geuenich D. – Huth C. (eds.), *Historia archaeologica. Festschrift für Heiko Steuer zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin – New York: 2009) 609–619.

¹¹ See Krapf, *Germanenmythos*; Mertens, "Instrumentalisierung"; Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae*.

¹² Usually humanistic commentaries – even on the *Germania* – are just mentioned, if at all, as philological *marginalia* or as a precursor of a certain later work. A fundamental problem might be that many researchers apply a modern understanding of commentaries to humanistic commentaries. Also, Rhenanus's *Commentariolus* is marked as a 'non-philological' commentary in a modern sense, and rather as an accumulation of information given by Tacitus (cf. Mundt, "Studien" 450) and as an important precursor to his *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* (1531) (cf. ibidem 445).

¹³ The research literature on the meaning and transformative function of humanistic commentaries on ancient literature still is in its infancy. For humanistic commentaries as media of transformation, see Weichenhan M., "Der Kommentar als Transformationsmedium des Textes", in Wabel T. – Weichenhan M. (eds.), *Kommentare. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf eine wissenschaftliche Praxis* (Frankfurt on the Main – Berlin – Bern – Brussels – New York – Oxford – Vienna: 2011) 9–25; and Weichenhan M., "Gassendis Kommentierung von Diogenes Laertius's *Vitae philosophorum* X – ein Beispiel für die Verwissenschaftlichung der Antike?", ibidem 91–125. For 'Transformation' as a research concept of cultural transformations and appropriations, see Böhme H. (ed.), *Transformation. Ein Konzept zur Erforschung kulturellen Wandels* (Munich: 2011): therein esp. Böhme H., "Einladung zur Transformation", ibidem 7–37; and Bergemann L. – Dönike M. – Schirrmeister A. – Toepfer G. – Walter M. – Weitbrecht J., "Transformation. Ein Konzept zur Erforschung kulturellen Wandels", ibidem 39–56.

(e.g. chronologies, biographies), commentaries are dependent on making specific analyses, interpretations, and explanations for the reference text upon which they are commenting. So in turn, to a certain degree the reference text not only generates but also structures the commentary. Thus, my assumption is that humanist commentaries develop spaces for interpretation that are different in content and structure from those in (humanist) historiographies, ethnographic and geographic descriptions, and biographies. The interplay of generic limitations and potentials generates a textual complementarity to such literary genres, which are similar with respect to discourse and topic.

In the paratexts of humanistic commentaries in particular, reflections are made about the relevance and function of Tacitus's work. These texts accompany the commentaries and give them a functional thrust. The cognitive interests of the humanists in the *Germania*, which are expressed in the prefaces and the epilogues, relate to a range of topics that can generally be described as historic.¹⁴ Their common characteristic is that some disjunctures that exist between antiquity and the present are diagnosed: only in dealing with them is some diversity shown. But as different as the specific focus in a preface is in detail, the *Germania* of Tacitus is still always read as providing historical-factual signs.¹⁵

2. *Beatus Rhenanus's Commentariolus*

The very first printed commentary on the *Germania* was written by Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) in 1519.¹⁶ At the very outset of the *Commentariolus*, Rhenanus not only advises the reader of the differences between national antiquity and present, but also calls on the reader to be aware of certain discontinuities when reading ancient authors:

First, we think that the reader should be reminded that in the descriptions of the ancients, not everything has to be related directly, as they say, to the living, such if – to give an example – Tacitus writes in his *libellus* something about the *Suebi*: if someone may assign something of those we call

¹⁴ In my PhD thesis, which I am going to finish soon, I work on the first printed humanistic commentaries dealing especially with the *Germania* of Tacitus: Rhenanus, *Commentariolus*; Althamer, *Scholia*; Althamer, *Commentaria*; and Melanchthon, *Interpretatio*.

¹⁵ Similarly, Mundt, "Studien" 450.

¹⁶ A brief biography of Rhenanus and an overview about his works up to the *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* (1531) are given by Felix Mundt (cf. Mundt, "Studien" 439–458).

Swabians today, to these, he will be wrong entirely, because those old *Suebi* lived on the river Elbe, i.e. in that area we call Saxony, but these [sc. Swabians] owned the lower part of Raetia.¹⁷

In a not insignificant way, Rhenanus undermines the approach of other German humanists who apparently act less cautiously in dealing with ancient (historical) texts.¹⁸ These programmatic remarks on reading the *Germania* deprive the text of an access that aims to construct lines of continuity between the national past and present that do not in fact exist, because the experiential world attests to the contrary. Thus, Rhenanus also interprets Germanic-German history and exposes certain fractures and changes in national history.¹⁹ Nevertheless – and this seems to me to be particularly important – the *Germania* is not diminished with respect to its historical significance, because by his methodological cautiousness he does not suggest that the work should not be used by readers concerned with national antiquity, rather he advises on how to read it. In fact, the historical facticity and validity of the *Germania* are reaffirmed through Rhenanus's *monendum* above, because thereby both antiquity and the present receive and – from Rhenanus's perspective – retain their own specific characteristics. Therefore, the *Commentariolus* acts as a valuable corrective to the distorted relationship between the national antiquity and present.

¹⁷ Rhenanus, *Commentariolus* 45: 'In primis admonendum lectorem putamus, in veterum descriptionibus non ad vivum, quod aiunt, omnia statim esse exigenda, velut exempli causa, si quae de Suevis in hoc libello scribit Tacitus, velit quispiam istis tribuere, quos hodie Suevos dicimus, tota aberrabit via, cum prisci illi Suevi ad Albim fluvium habitarent, quam regionem hodie Saxoniam appellamus; isti vero Rhetiam inferiorem occuparint'.

¹⁸ His warning also can be read as a veiled criticism, which remains unspoken: Perhaps he was thinking about Heinrich Bebel's *Epitome Laudum Suevorum* (1509). Therein, both national antiquity and present are brought together historically and related to each other by using the example of the Swabians. See Bebel Heinrich, *Epitome laudum Suevorum atque principis nostri Udalrici ducis Württembergensis et Thec.* (Pforzheim, Thomas Anselmus: 1509). Fundamental for Bebel, see Mertens D., "Bebelius... patriam Sueviam... restituit. Der poeta laureatus zwischen Reich und Territorium", *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 42 (1983) 145–173.

¹⁹ This does not necessarily contradict humanist self-perception, because (national) antiquity continues to be the reference point of the present, so that both national antiquity and the present that Rhenanus distinguishes can be described as set into direct relationship with each other. For sure, the differences between antiquity and the present that Rhenanus distinguishes can be described as more 'reflected' or 'critical' than was the case with some of his other contemporaries. But such a qualification can mislead and reduce other humanists on the other side. That would undermine the ability to contour 'humanistic' usefully, because 'humanistic' accesses to antiquity can be very disparate and must always be read in the context of their contemporary provenance, intention, and function.

Especially in ethnographic and geographic terms for names mentioned in the *Germania* – such as in the question of where to locate the Raeti,²⁰ which Tacitus mentions in the first sentence of his *Germania* as a geographic reference point for sketching out ancient Germany²¹ – Rhenanus exemplifies these distinct mutations between the ancient and the present state of Germany that also make an equation of antiquity with the present quite impossible. These kinds of ethnographic and geographic updates are entirely representative of commenting strategies manifested in the *Commentariolus*: certain names of ancient tribes and regions are set in direct relation to the present experience. In the *Commentariolus*, we also find certain philological comments, e.g. when it comes to the use of the plural

²⁰ E.g. see Rhenanus, *Commentariolus* fol. D 3r/ p. 53: '**Rhetiisque**] Idoneis autoribus esse Rhetia uidetur, quam hodie Sueviam uocamus. Nam Ptolemaeus Taxagetum, Brigantium et Campodunum, hoc est, ut quidam uolunt, *Rotvillam* seu rotundam villam, Pregnitium et Campodunum in Rhetia ponit. Quidam Austrios etiam Rhetorum vocabulo comprehendunt. Et extat hodie tractus in Suevis, qua Noricum spectant, a Rhetis appellatus *Im Rhies*. Utcumque sit, verisimile est Rhetorum aliquos in Illyricum penetrasse, qui hodieque *Retzeni* vocantur, *die Retzen*. Bellis equestrem navant operam et Parthicum quidam referunt, celerimis utentes equis, in speciem quidem turpibus, sed ad cursum promptis et laborum patientibus. Rhetos hodie vocamus, qui Curiensem Episcopum agnoscunt. Dicta autem fuit Curia Rhetiae, propterea quod illic olim causae cognoscerentur. Rhetici vini meminit Suetonius et eo delectatum Augustum scribit, *Velteiner vvein*. Arguit autem Rhetiarum vocabulum variam fuisse Rhetiam, superiorem, inferiorem, planam, Alpestrem, et Cisalpinam etc.' – '**and (from) the Raeti**] To capable authors, Raetia seems to be what we now call Swabia. Because Ptolemy situates *Taxagetum*, *Brigantium*, and *Campodunum*, i.e., as some people want, *Rotvilla* or round Villa, and Pregnitium and Campodunum in Raetia. Some want the Austri even to be called with the name of the Raeti. And now there is an area in the territory of the Swabians that is close to Noricum, and which is named after the Raeti: *im Ries*. However it may be, it is most likely that some of the Raeti penetrated into Illyricum, which today are also called *Retzeni*, *die Retzen*. In the wars they invest great effort on the cavalry, and they deliver something Parthian when they use very fast horses which indeed are ugly with regard to their appearance, but very quickly in the course and able to endure labors. Today we call the Raeti those who acknowledge the Bishop of Chur. It was also called *Curia Rhetiae*, therefore because once there were held trials. Suetonius commemorates the Raetian wine and writes that Augustus was pleased by that: *Velteiner vvein*. The designation *Rhetiae* reveals that *Rhaetia* was multifaceted: the upper, the lower, the flat, the Alpine, and the Cisalpine etc.'

²¹ See Tacitus, *Germania* 1.1: 'Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur; cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit' – 'Germania as a whole is separated from the Gauls and from the Raeti and Pannonii by the Rhine and Danube rivers, and from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutual fear or mountains; the Ocean surrounds the rest, enveloping broad peninsulas and islands of immense expanse: various clans and kings have only recently become known to us, revealed by war'. Translation taken from Tacitus, *Germania*, translated with introduction and commentary by J.B. Rives (Oxford: 1999) 77.

in certain geographic names.²² Overall, the commentary goes beyond the scope of updates and tries to provide more information in the annotated sections, whereby the ancient knowledge of the *Germania* is verified. Doubt, however, about the credibility of Tacitus's *Germania* cannot be found anywhere else.

At times we also find sections in the *Commentariolus* that are annotated by Rhenanus in a rather historiographic way. A prime example is the lemma on Maroboduus (30 BC–37 AD), King of the Marcomanni,²³ whom Tacitus mentions only marginally in the forty-second chapter of his *Germania*.²⁴ Rhenanus comments extensively on the passage 'nobile Marobodui', expending about 2.5 printed pages:

the noble [line] of Maroboduus] In the most beautiful praise, Velleius consecrates Maroboduus to immortality by writing so: 'Maroboduus, a man of noble family, strong in body and courageous in mind, a barbarian by birth but not in intelligence, achieved among his countrymen no mere chief's position gained as the result of internal disorders or chance or liable to change and dependent upon the caprice of his subjects, but, conceiving in his mind the idea of a definite empire and royal powers, he resolved to remove his own race far away from the Romans and to migrate to a place where, inasmuch as he had fled before the strength of more powerful arms, he might make his own all-powerful. Accordingly, after occupying the region we have

²² See Rhenanus, *Commentariolus* fols. D 3r–v/ pp. 53–54: 'Et Pannoniis] Numero multitudinis usus est. Nam superior est et inferior. Superiorem Austriam hodie vocant, Inferiorem Ungariam. Velleius, ubi Pannonici belli narrationem exorditur. "In omnibus", inquit, "Pannoniis non [...] disciplinae tantummodo, sed linguae quoque noticia Romanae; plerisque etiam literarum usus et familiaris erat animorum exercitatio. Porro vocatam Austriam ab Austria Gallica Paulus Aemilius autor est' – 'and (from) the Pannonii] He uses the plural, because there is an upper one and a lower one. Now we call the upper part Austria, and the lower Hungary. Velleius, where he begins the narrative of the Pannonian war, says: "All Pannonians were familiar not only with the Roman discipline, but also the Roman language; most of them were even able to read and write, and were used to intellectual activities/training. Furthermore, Paolo Emilio testifies that Austria is named after the Gallic Austria'.

²³ For Maroboduus, see Dobiáš J., "King Maroboduus as a Politician", in *Klio* 38 (1960) 155–166; Losemann V., "Marboduu", *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike* (1999) vol. VII, 941–942; Jahn R.G., *Der Römisch-Germanische Krieg (9–16 n. Chr.)* (Bonn: 2001); Kehne P., art. "Maroboduus", in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 19 (2001) 258–262.

²⁴ See Tacitus, *Germania* 42, 2: 'Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges mansere ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus; iam et externos patiuntur, sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. rara armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur nec minus valent.' – 'Down to our own day, the Marcomani and Quadi have had kings from their own tribe, the noble line of Maroboduus and Tudrus; now they also allow foreigners. But the kings derive their power and influence from the authority of Rome: they are occasionally aided by our armies, more often by our money, yet their strength is none the less'. Translation taken from Tacitus, *Germania* (Rives) 94.

mentioned, he proceeded to reduce all the neighbouring races by war, or to bring them under his sovereignty by treaty. He brought his own body by observation, then the kingdom by constant drill almost to the Roman standard of discipline, and soon he placed it in a position of power that was dreaded even by our empire. His policy toward Rome was to avoid provoking us by war, but nevertheless to demonstrate that if he were provoked by us, he had in reserve the power and the will to resist. The envoys whom he sent to the Caesars sometimes commended him to them as a suppliant and sometimes spoke as though they represented an equal. Races and individuals who revolted from us found in him a refuge, and in all respects, with but little concealment, he played the part of a rival. His army, which he had brought up to the number of seventy thousand [sc. foot soldiers] and four thousand riders, he was steadily preparing, by exercising it in constant wars against his neighbours, for some greater task than that which he had in hand'. Up to here Velleius. What finally was the ultimate fate of Maroboduus, Tacitus shows with the following words in his second book.²⁵

Rhenanus starts the commentary on this passage with an extensive quote from Velleius Paterculus, who in his report had made Maroboduus almost immortal. Apart from the possibility that Rhenanus may have wanted to arouse curiosity among his contemporaries for his upcoming edition of Velleius Paterculus²⁶ and to demonstrate his already profound knowledge

²⁵ Rhenanus, *Commentariolus* fol. E 3r-v/ pp. 69–70: 'Nobile Marobodui] Velleius pulcherrimis laudum elogiis Maroboduum immortalitati consecravit, sic scribens: "Maroboduus genere nobilis, corpore praevalens, animo ferox, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, non tumultuarium, neque fortuitum neque mobilem, et ex voluntate parentum constantem inter suos occupavit principatum, sed certum imperium vimque regiam complexus animo, statuit avocata procul a Romanis gente sua progredi: ubi cum potentiora arma refugisset, sua faceret potentissima. Occupatis igitur (quos praediximus) locis finitimos omnes aut bello domuit aut conditionibus [sic] iuris sui fecit. Corpus suum custodia, tum imperium perpetuis exercitiis pene ad Romanae disciplinae formam redactum, brevi in eminens et nostro quoque imperio timendum perduxit fastigium, gerebatque se ita adversus Romanos, ut neque bello nos lacesseret, sed tamen ostenderet, si lacesseretur, superesse sibi vim ac voluntatem resistendi. Legati, quos mittebat ad Caesares interdum, ut supplicem commendabant, interdum, ut pro pari loquebantur. Gentibus hominibusque a nobis desciscitibus erat apud eum perfugium, totumque ex male dissimulato agebat aemulum, exercitumque quem LXX millium, quattuor equitum fecerat, assiduis adversus finitimos bellis exercendo, maiori quam habebat operi praeparabat". Hactenus Velleius. Sed quae tandem ultima Marobodui fortuna fuerit, Tacitus his verbis ostendit libro secundo'. The translation of the Velleius passage is based on Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History. Res gestae Divi Augusti*, with an English translation by F.W. Shipley (reprint London: 1992) 273–275, and adapted to Rhenanus's version, which differs from modern text editions in a few points. These are: 'ubi cum propter potentiora arma refugisset; corpus suum custodientium imperium; et si lacesseretur; exercitumque, quem septuaginta milium peditum, quattuor equitum fecerat, assiduis adversus finitimos bellis exercendo maiori quam, quod habebat, operi praeparabat'.

²⁶ That he has succeeded thereby is shown in a letter from Otto Brunfels (1488–1534) to Rhenanus dated 5 February 1520, in which Otto laments the pending edition: 'Χαίρε, ὦ

of this text and author – in 1515 he had succeeded in finding a manuscript of the *Historia Romana* in Murbach Abbey in Alsace, and he finally edited the *editio princeps* in 1520²⁷ – it is noticeable that Rhenanus especially focuses on the noble origin as well as the political and military achievements of Maroboduus via Velleius Paterculus's praise.

To this quote from Velleius, which almost resembles a report of Maroboduus's deeds, Rhenanus adds another large quote taken from the second book of the *Annals* of Tacitus (*Annals* II, 63), which reports on the fate of Maroboduus: namely, how Maroboduus – deposed from his political leadership – had turned for help to the Roman Emperor Tiberius, who himself had explained to the Senate the dangers presented by Maroboduus. And Tacitus also refers to how Maroboduus had finally died after living – less gloriously – for 18 years in Ravenna.²⁸ Rhenanus lets Tacitus

Ῥηνᾶνε, quid faciunt Musae tuae? Quidnam philosophantur? Quid rei, quod tam diu tacent? Ubi Paterculus ille, quem nobis polliceris in scoliis Tacitinis? – 'Hail, my Rhenanus, what do your Muses do? What do they philosophize? What is the reason that they are silent so long? Where is Paterculus, whom you promise us in your Tacitean scholia?' (See *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, ed. A. Horawitz and K. Hartfelder [Leipzig: 1886] no. 150, 206–207).

²⁷ See Rhenanus Beatus, *P. Vellei Paterculi Historiae Romanae duo volumina [...] ab interitu utcunque vindicata* (Basel, Johannes Froben: 1520).

²⁸ See Rhenanus, *Commentariolus* fols. E 3v–E 4r/pp. 70–71: 'Maroboduo undique deserto non aliud subsidium quam misericordia Caesaris fuit. Transgressus Danubium, qua Noricam provinciam praefluit, scripsit Tiberio non ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria prioris fortunae. Nam multis nationibus clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocantibus Romanam amicitiam praetulisse. Responsum a Caesare, tutam ei honoratamque sedem in Italia fore, si maneret; sin rebus suis aliud conduceret, abiturum fide, qua venisset. Caeterum apud senatum disseruit non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse. Extat oratio, qua magnitudinem viri, violentiam subiectarum ei gentium et quam propinquus Italiae hostis, suaque in destruendo eo consilia extulit. Et Maroboduus quidem Ravennae habitus, etsi quando insolescerent Suevi, quasi rediturus in regnum ostentabatur. Sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos consenuitque multum imminuta claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem.' – 'Maroboduus was now totally deserted, and his only recourse was the emperor's mercy. He crossed the Danube at the point where it skirts the province of Noricum, and wrote Tiberius a letter not as a refugee or suppliant, but as one who remembered his former status. For, he said, although many peoples had issued invitations to him as a formerly glorious king, he had preferred the friendship of Rome. The reply from the emperor was that Maroboduus would have a safe and honourable residence in Italy, if he remained there; but that if some other arrangement were more advantageous he would leave with the same guarantees with which he had come. In the Senate, however, Tiberius claimed that the Athenians had had less reason to fear Philip, or the Roman people Pyrrhus or Antiochus, than they had to fear Maroboduus. The speech still survives in which he underlined the man's importance, the violent character of the tribes subject to him, his proximity to Italy as an enemy, and also the measures Tiberius had himself taken to bring him down. And Maroboduus was actually detained at Ravenna, with the threat of his return being held out in the event of the Suebi ever becoming recalcitrant. In fact, he did not

report on Maroboduus's political failure as well as the high risk to which Maroboduus had exposed the Roman Empire.

Regarding his comment, it is not only important what Rhenanus quotes, but also what he does not quote. Indeed, he is apparently interested in reconstructing a detailed picture of both Maroboduus and Germanic-German antiquity, but without any glorification whatsoever. But his commentary does not take the opposite course, because he omits the most negative elements.

This becomes particularly evident when Rhenanus, following this biographical summary, also points to another passage from the second book of the *Annals*, where Tacitus reports on a speech by Arminius. Therein, Arminius denigrates Maroboduus as 'fugax', 'praeliorum expers', 'Hercyniae latebris defensus', and especially 'proditor patriae' and 'satelles Caesaris'.²⁹ Rhenanus, however, does not quote this completely, instead letting Arminius characterize Maroboduus only as 'fugax', 'praeliorum expers' and 'Hercyniae latebris defensus' ('a man quick to flee and lacking battle experience', 'protected by the hideouts of Hercynia'), but not as 'proditor patriae' and 'satelles Caesaris' ('a traitor to his country' and 'hanger-on of the Emperor').³⁰ A possible reason for this could be that the complete

leave Italy for eighteen years, and grew old in much diminished glory simply because he was too eager to stay alive'. The translation is based on Tacitus, *The Annals. The Reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero*, translated by J.C. Yardley with an introduction and notes by A.A. Barrett (Oxford [NY]: 2008) 83.

²⁹ See Tacitus, *Annales* II, 45: 'ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quosque advectus erat, recuperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum ostentabat; contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, proeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defensum; ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensis animis exturbandum quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint. meminissent modo tot proeliorum, quorum eventu et ad postremum eiectis Romanis satis probatum, penes utros summa belli fuerit.' – 'On this occasion, too, Arminius ranged over the whole field on his horse. As he rode up to each unit he pointed out to them the freedom they had regained, the legions they had slaughtered, and the spoils and javelins that had been seized from the Romans and which were now in the hands of many of his men. Maroboduus, by contrast, he styled as a man quick to flee and lacking battle experience. He had sought protection in the hideouts of Hercynia, and had soon asked for a treaty, using gifts and delegations – a traitor to his country and a hanger-on of the emperor. They should chase him out with as much loathing as they felt when they killed Varus Quintilius. They only had to think back on all those battles whose outcome, with the final expulsion of the Romans, showed clearly enough with which side lay the final result of the war'. The translation is taken from Tacitus, *The Annals*, translated by J.C. Yardley 73–74.

³⁰ See Rhenanus, *Commentariolus* 1519 fol. E 4r/ p. 71: 'Haec Tacitus. Apud quem alibi Maroboduum fugacem appellat Arminius, praeliorum expertem, ac Hercyniae latebris defensum' – 'Up to this point Tacitus. Elsewhere by him [sc. Tacitus], Arminius calls Maroboduus a man quick to flee and lacking battle experience, and a man who had sought

Tacitean passage can be read as a clear statement that not only stigmatizes Maroboduus, but also – if the dispute between Arminius and Maroboduus as great persons of the Germanic-German antiquity is singled out so prominently – allows conclusions to be drawn about possible national disagreements among the (ancient) Germans. In this way, Maroboduus also would be set into a situation of political proximity to and dependence on (ancient) Rome, and his sense of patriotism would definitely be denied. Rhenanus's portrait of Maroboduus has negative connotations for sure – because he is shown as a coward without any combat experience, but not as a traitor to his nation.

Thus, the amplification of knowledge about national antiquity has certain limitations, which in this case consist of keeping clearly negative implications out of the national perspective. The spaces for interpretation are not only created but also occupied by commentary. The ignorance of such votes, which could have a negative impact on the image of national antiquity, even seems to be necessary in order to not jeopardize or undermine Maroboduus's historical importance for Germanic-German antiquity.

Last but not least, Rhenanus also reflects on the etymology of 'Maroboduus' and articulates that this name probably originates from 'Marck', which means 'horse', and 'boden', which means 'body'.³¹ To support the etymological considerations that this name has a *germanica origo* for sure, he refers to – apart from the common use of this name as well as of other very similar names, such as Marchard, Bernhardt, and Löwenhard – Suetonius, who would stress that origin in a passage of his biography of Tiberius, even though Suetonius actually aims to address the regional origin of Maroboduus, not the etymology of his name.³²

protection in the hideouts of Hercynia' (the translation of the Tacitean terms is taken from Tacitus, *The Annals*, transl. by J.C. Yardley 73).

³¹ See Rhenanus, *Commentariolus* fol. E 4r/ p. 71: 'Porro ut rursus curiosi simus, Maroboduum dictum putamus, quod *equi corpus* referret, a *Marck*, quod equum significat, et *boden*, corpus: hoc enim vocabulo quidam populi adhuc utuntur.' – 'Moreover, to be curious again, we believe that Maroboduus is named after what refers to the *body of a horse*, namely from *Marck*, which signifies a horse, and from *boden*, which means *body*. Because certain peoples still use that designation'.

³² See *ibidem*. For his reference to Suetonius, see Suetonius, *Tiberius* 37: 'quosdam per blanditias atque promissa extractos ad se non remisit, ut Marobodum Germanum, Rhascuporim Thracem, Archelaum Cappadocem, cuius etiam regnum in formam prouinciae redegit' – 'Some he lured to Rome with flattery and promises and would not allow them to return home, such as Marobodus the German, Rhascuporis from Thrace, Archelaus from Cappadocia, in the last case reducing his kingdom to a province of the empire'. The translation is taken from Suetonius, *Lives of Caesars*, translated with an introduction and notes by C. Edwards (Oxford [NY]: 2000) 117.

This second part of the commentary is designed not as a narrative, but rather argumentatively. In conjunction with the first biographical part, Maroboduus is illustrated emphatically in the comments as a significant, albeit unsuccessful, person of Germanic-German antiquity. Nevertheless, it is very important that Maroboduus is not imbued with the bad odour of a *proditor patriae* or *satelles Caesaris*, which is how Arminius represents him in Tacitus's *Annals*. Rhenanus's comment has a kind of biographical design, albeit a shortened one. It overwrites the ancient reference text historically and develops certain appropriation strategies that allow it to set up its own key aspects and focus on certain issues that the ancient reference text itself surely suggests, but at which it may aim less.

Thus, commentaries, especially those with a historical focus, develop textual spaces that are complementary to other text genres and text types that follow a similar discourse. The historians Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, and Suetonius underline Rhenanus's commentary, because in the humanistic understanding, they are of the status of historiographic authorities. Therefore, the quotes Rhenanus dissolves from their contexts and recombines have to be seen less as a loose conglomeration of ancient quotations, and more as the opinion of the humanist commentator Rhenanus, who authenticates the content of the *Germania* selectively, but completely by his own understanding. The previous information about Maroboduus that was known on the basis of text editions of the *Germania* and the *Annals* of Tacitus is amplified and confirmed by quoting Velleius. Nevertheless, it is quite difficult to determine Rhenanus's *Commentariolus* on a certain view and understanding of (national) history, because his commentary is characterized by very different annotations – above all, he does not explicitly express his understanding of national history in his short preface preceding the *Commentariolus* or in the *Commentariolus* itself. In general, Rhenanus does not try to elevate Germanic-German antiquity at all cost, but primarily tries to collect, reactivate, and confirm historical knowledge about the national past. So he is willing to embed Maroboduus within historical memory as a person with certain positive and negative characteristics, but as one who achieved great things in the political and military sector. Due to the biographical content of this lemma and in order to amplify the knowledge about Maroboduus (and insofar also about the national antiquity), Rhenanus also quotes from Tacitus. But at the same time, he also tries to hide knowledge that could be understood in a clearly negative sense from a national point of view, such as the Tacitean stigma that Maroboduus was a *proditor patriae* as well as a *satelles Caesaris*. German humanists' commentaries on the *Germania* of Tacitus also aim to shape

a sort of self-assurance of their national antiquity. Therefore, it seems to be necessary to at least not undermine the national perspective with any negative associations.

Rhenanus's comment on Maroboduus, which is primarily formed historically, aims to present both a more detailed presentation of Maroboduus than can be found in the *Germania*, and an explication of his noble origin, on which Tacitus barely reports in his *Germania*. Thereby, Tacitus's *libellus aureus* is confirmed as a historical-factual work on ancient German history. With his commentary, which was aimed at explaining the differences between antiquity and present, Rhenanus himself demonstrates how the *Germania* should be read in order to reach conclusions about the Germanic-German antiquity.

3. Conclusion: Transformations of the *Germania* in German Humanist Commentaries

As part of humanistic commentaries, ancient texts and authors other than those commented upon are also used to support the argument of the commentary. These, however, do not only act as mere ancient references, but also serve as authorities that confirm and expand the content of the annotated passage. Against this background, these texts also have to be understood as a kind of statement made by the commentator himself, because he has chosen them for commenting on the relevant passage. It is also clear that humanistic commentaries in particular always aim to embed the ancient text functionally within their own reception area: according to humanistic self-conception, the annotated text has to take on a very specific function and thus to respond to contemporary issues or problems.

This applies especially for commentaries on ancient historians and those texts that are read with a specific historical interest. Therefore, within such commentaries certain appropriation strategies are developed and textual spaces for interpretation are established that make it possible to update, as well as to incorporate, ancient knowledge into the reception area. The transformation of the *Germania* through Rhenanus's *Commentariolus* is primarily characterized by a historical interest, because the Tacitean text is always read and commented on as a historical-factual text in order to gain insight into national antiquity. In this respect, commenting on the *Germania* by German humanists has to be understood as a productive appropriation of historical knowledge. Thereby, Rhenanus obviously does not aim so much to ennoble national antiquity as to reactivate ancient knowledge about national antiquity and make it accessible.

The example of Maroboduus demonstrates that aim in particular: Rhenanus is interested in providing, amplifying, and concentrating the scanty knowledge of the *Germania* as well as other information about Maroboduus with further quotations from ancient texts that are of a historical content. The choice and combination of quotations, however, are crucial to Rhenanus's method. This arsenal of selection and combination strategies joined with simultaneous, thematic concentration allows him at this point to operate within different areas, as well as to occupy spaces for interpretation: namely, the biographical and the etymological. At the same time, he avoids certain references that could distort the commentary by focusing on national history in a negative way. Even the deliberate and selective masking of such content underlines the own account: What is not mentioned by the commentator can be ignored as irrelevant or wrong. In this way, it is possible to explain the omission of the Tacitean formulation about Maroboduus as *proditor patriae* and as *satelles Caesaris* because he obviously should not be entrusted to national historical memory in this way.

As part of those appropriations by the *Commentariolus*, national antiquity and the present are moved closer together in a specifically historical formation, and so they are related to and coordinated with each other. Thus, commenting on the *Germania* of Tacitus, which is read by the German humanists as textual and authoritative proof of national antiquity, aims always to explore the specific relationship between national antiquity and the experiential world, to ascertain and understand national antiquity.

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ANNOTATING TACITUS: THE CASE OF JUSTUS LIPSIUS*

Jeanine De Landtsheer

SUMMARY

During a sojourn in Rome (1568–1570) Justus Lipsius's patrons, Granvelle and Muretus, introduced him to prominent humanists in the city who gave him access to their manuscripts and early printed books, and often also to collections of inscriptions and coins. A few years after his return to the Low Countries, his first edition of Tacitus's *Opera omnia* was published by Christopher Plantin (Antwerp, 1574), a publication which earned him fame in humanist circles. Lack of time had forced Lipsius to limit his *notae* almost exclusively to philological remarks: variant readings, attempted emendations, and remarks on issues of textual corruption not yet resolved, without giving much attention to the historical context, biographical details of persons mentioned, or adding information about practical issues. Nevertheless, in his still limited collection of *Notae* Lipsius is already proving his familiarity with an impressive number of Latin and Greek authors and also with Tacitus's idiosyncratic language. Moreover, he is making good use of the epigraphic material he had copied during his stay in Rome or acquired from early printed collections of inscriptions. Soon after the *editio princeps* appeared, Lipsius resumed his work on the Roman historian by thoroughly revising his text and establishing the promised commentary. It became probably an extended version of what he had in mind before, for his lectures had made him aware that a correct and 'clean' text, however important, was not the only requisite to truly understand an author. The 1581 edition was accompanied by a commentary to the *Annales* only; in 1585 Lipsius had also finished the *Notae* to the *Historiae* and the *Opera minora*.

In the fall of 1568 Justus Lipsius interrupted his studies at Leuven university for a *peregrinatio academica* to Rome where he stayed until the spring of 1570.¹ Armed with a letter of recommendation from Valerius Cornelius ab Auwater, his Latin teacher at the *Collegium Trilingue*, the young philologist introduced himself to the French humanist Marcus Antonius Muretus, then professor at the Sapienza. Initially, Lipsius lived at his own expense,

* I am indebted to Prof. Charles Fantazzi for correcting my English. Leiden University Library and Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp kindly granted permission for the publication of the illustrations.

¹ See on this stay Ruysschaert J., "Le séjour de Juste Lipse à Rome (1568–1570) d'après ses *Antiquae lectiones* et sa correspondance", *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 24 (1947–1948) 139–192.

but in May 1569 he entered the service of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle as his secretary of Latin correspondence. In his leisure time he roamed through the city admiring the physical remains from the Roman Empire and copying with painstaking care the inscriptions from antiquity he came across. But he was even more pleased that these two influential patrons, Granvelle and Muretus, introduced him to prominent humanists in Rome, who opened the doors of their magnificent libraries, treasure troves of manuscripts and early printed books, and often also of collections of inscriptions and coins.² Lipsius was particularly interested in browsing through their manuscript and book collections: countless days of patiently studying and collating allowed him to gather a cornucopia of annotations to be incorporated in the strictly philological publications he sent to press after his return from Rome during the seventies. Above all, his research was a great help for his first annotated edition of the *Opera omnia* of Publius (or Caius as he preferred)³ Cornelius Tacitus, published with the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin in 1574 [Fig. 1]. Although this publication earned him fame in humanist circles, Lipsius was not satisfied, in particular with the commentary he had promised his readership. For, as we will see, it consisted almost exclusively of philological remarks: variant readings sometimes with a few words of comment on them, suggested emendations, and remarks on issues of textual corruption not yet resolved, without giving much attention to the historical context, biographical details of persons mentioned, text interpretation, or adding information about practical matters, e.g. law texts, religious habits, or military practice. Hence Lipsius would keep working on the Roman historian throughout his scholarly career: revising the text, discussing it in his lectures, taking into account remarks and information several colleagues sent him, and, in particular, devoting himself to elucidate the text by adding an ever increasing historical commentary from the second, 1581 edition onwards until the seventh, posthumously published edition of 1607.

² A small part of the epigraphic and numismatic material that Lipsius copied is still preserved at Leiden University Library as ms. Lips. 22. The provenances added in the manuscript mention visits to the collections of the Farnese and the Cesi families, and of Fulvio Orsini among many others.

³ In his first footnote added to the title of the work (1574 edition, 647), he explains that he preferred the praenomen *Caius* rather than the more commonly used *Publius*, following the example of Sidonius Apollinaris in his letters (*Epistulae* IV, 14, 1, to Polemius, and IV, 22, 2, to Leo), and also the heading of one of the main manuscripts he consulted in Rome, then in the library of Cardinals Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese.

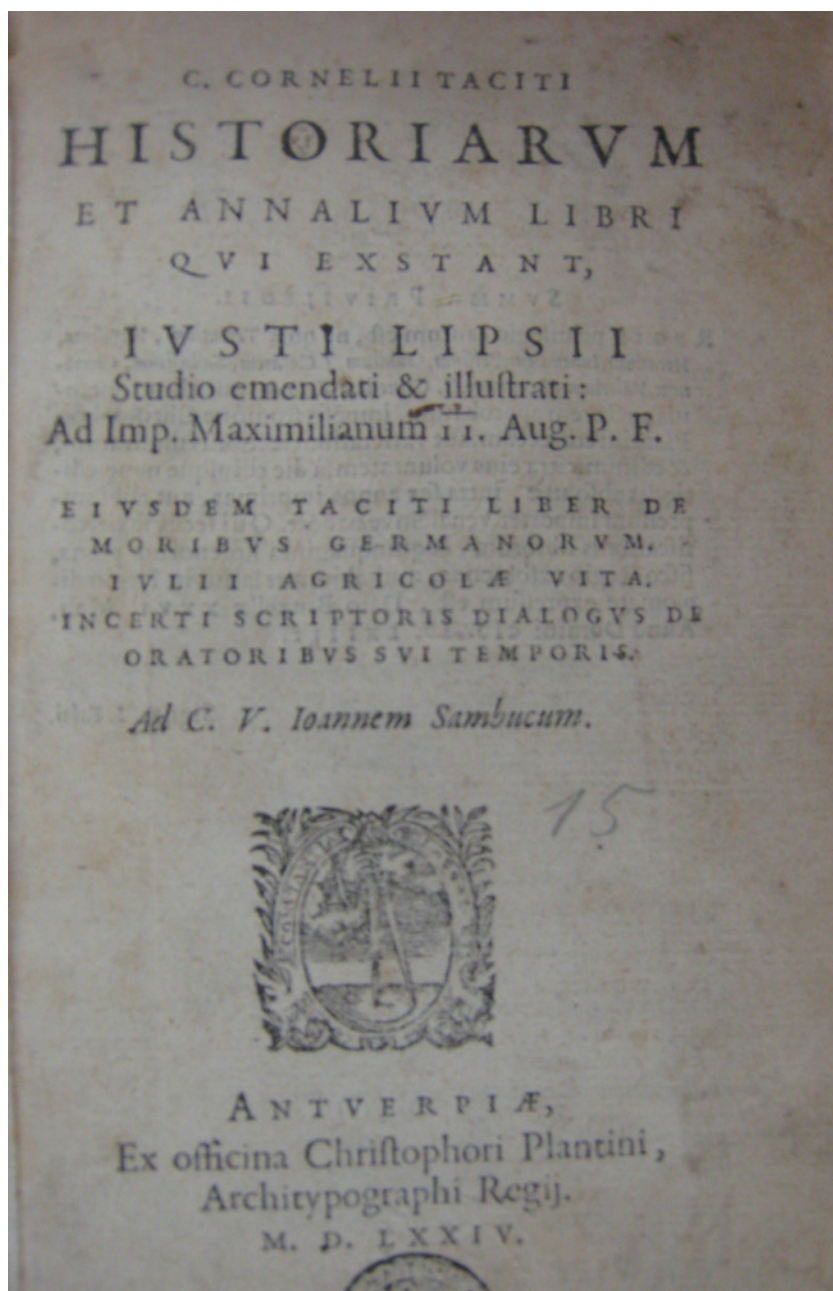


Fig. 1. Title page of the *editio princeps* of Lipsius's edition of Tacitus's *Opera omnia* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1574; private collection).

I have already discussed the successive editions of Lipsius's Tacitus at length on a previous occasion.⁴ The context of the present collection of essays, however, offers the opportunity to have a closer look into the commentary itself: how Lipsius conceived it and the sources he used. In doing so, I will distinguish between, on the one hand, the *editio princeps*, which has only the one modest section of *Notae*, and, on the other hand, the subsequent edition from 1581 onwards up to the 1607 reissue.

1. *The Notae of the editio princeps*

The 1574 edition is a sturdy in-octavo book of 762 pages including about one hundred pages of *Notae*, matching the order of the works from p. 643 on.⁵ This section is preceded by an "Ad lectorem monitio" ("Warning to the reader", 643–646) which opens with an apology for the delay in publishing the intended commentary, while at the same time defining the distinction between *commentarius* and *notae*:

In Cornelium Tacitum scriptorem [...] paucos habebam et Commentarios et breves Notas, illos qui obscura vel ambigua explicarent; istas quibus lectionum modo varietatem et, cum incidisset, castigationis meae rationes proferrem. Utrumque scriptum cum hoc tempore pararem emittere, decreto meo violenti Tribuni intercesserunt Festinatio et Angustum tempus, a quibus ad populum provocatio non esset.⁶

I was preparing a limited number of commentary and annotations to the author, Cornelius Tacitus [...], the former to explain what remained unclear or ambiguous, the latter to merely give variant readings and arguments for any emendations which may have occurred to me. Although it was my intention to publish both at once, my decision was thwarted by two vehement commanders, Urgency and Lack of time, to which no appeal was possible.

⁴ De Landtsheer J., "Commentaries on Tacitus by Justus Lipsius. Their Editing and Printing History", in Rice Henderson, J. with the assistance of Swan, P.M. (eds.), *The Unfolding of Words: Commentary in the Age of Erasmus* (Toronto 2012) 188–242.

⁵ Lipsius's copy of the *editio princeps* with additional autograph annotations on almost every page in view of a second edition, is preserved in Leiden, University Library, shelf number 760 F 11, missing the major part of the first quire with the title page, the dedicatory letter to Emperor Maximilian II, and the "Admonitio ad lectorem" (1–12). It should be noted that in the *editio princeps* Lipsius preferred to have the *Historiae* precede the *Annales*, because that was the order in which Tacitus composed his major works, as he explains. Yet from the 1581 edition onwards, he conformed to the commonly used chronological order.

⁶ Cf. the 1574 edition, 643.

This decision was taken because Plantin⁷ was eagerly waiting to send his edition to press, and Lipsius used the opportunity to add a few words of praise addressed to the printer: 'Plantini nostri, unius omnium quot sunt, quot erunt accuratissimi typographi' ('of our dear Plantin, by far the most accurate of all printers now living or who will ever be living'). It was definitely not an idle compliment, for the Antwerp printer took great care to deliver an almost flawless text. Moreover, the layout of the work is mainly for the user's convenience: line numbers were added (by five) in the inner margins of the text and the *notae* are systematically preceded by the page and the line number. The lemma is always given in italics and the annotation in roman, with possible quotations in italics again.⁸ Inscriptions and occasionally also coins are quoted in small capitals with respect to the formal aspect. Whenever a phrase is considered hopelessly corrupt, the reader is warned by an asterisk in both the text part and the *nota*.

In the second part of his "Ad lectorem monitio", Lipsius informs his reader about the versions he had collated in Rome to establish his text and the *Notae*:

Usus sum Romae tribus codicibus manuscriptis; Bibliothecae Farnesianae primus fuit, quem beneficio Clarissimi Viri et humanissimi Fulvii Ursini sum aptus; duo alii prompti ex illo thesauro Musarum, Vaticano. Sed alteri ex his duobus neque aetas neque bonitas eadem fuit; alter ex interiore et arcana bibliotheca, admirabile dictu est, quas notas boni et sinceri codicis saepe praetulerit. [...] His tribus accessit editio Veneta vetus, anni M.CCCC.XCIII. Quam adhibere vice libri scripti ideo non piguit, quod inter studiosos harum rerum constet, Taciti manuscripta exemplaria spisso et vix in Europa inveniri.⁹

⁷ Cf. *ibidem*. It was Plantin who had approached Lipsius (apparently as many as three times) to entrust his manuscript to him, promising to begin with the printing immediately, using a new set of letters, and to respect the author's wishes about the format and the letter type of the publication. Cf. ILE I, 73 12 [15]. Perhaps Plantin was afraid that any delay might cause Lipsius to have second thoughts and accept a previous invitation by Henricus Stephanus, cf. ILE I, 73 03 23. (ILE I = *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae, pars I: 1563–1583*, ed. A. Gerlo – M.A. Nauwelaerts – H.D.L. Vervliet [Brussels: 1978]).

⁸ In the successive editions a similar procedure was followed, always making a clear distinction by giving lemma, text, and quotation its own letter character. Moreover, some letters between Lipsius and Balthasar Moretus preserved in the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp prove that collaborators of the *Officina* ensured that the page numbers in both the annotations and the index were adjusted to the corresponding newly set text.

⁹ Cf. the 1574 edition, 643–644.

In Rome, I used three manuscripts. The first belonged to the Farnese Library, which I had at my disposal thanks to the benevolence of Fulvio Orsini, a most illustrious and courteous man. The other two I could use from the Vatican, that treasure trove of the Muses. But one of these two was not up to the same level because of its age and its quality; the second, however, from the inner and private library has often offered annotations of an astonishingly good and honest quality. To these three manuscripts was added an early edition from Venice, from the year 1494. I did not regret using it as if it were a manuscript, for scholars of this subject agree that the manuscript versions of Tacitus are of later times and hard to find in Europe.

The early printed copy, indicated as 'Veneta 1494', probably was an earlier variant of Francesco Puzeolano's second folio edition, published by Filippo Pinzi for Benedetto Fontana in Venice 1497. The three Roman manuscripts have been identified by José Ruyschaert: the Farnese manuscript is now in the Royal Library in Naples (*Neapolitanus* IV C 21), whereas the manuscripts from the Vatican collection correspond to what is now ms. lat. 1864 from the *Bibliotheca publica* and ms. lat. 1863 from the *Bibliotheca secreta* (or 'ex interiore et arcana bibliotheca,' as Lipsius calls it).¹⁰

But the copies available in Rome disappointed him when he arrived at the *Annales*: in a short paragraph at the beginning of the *Notae ad Annales* Lipsius warns his reader about the problem with the text tradition of the first part of this work, which is only preserved in one manuscript in Florence at the *Laurentiana*¹¹ and missing in all the Roman versions. Since, however, an early 16th-century edition corrected by the Italian humanist Aemilius Ferretus was available, he had made use of that, without deeming it necessary to go to Florence himself:

¹⁰ Cf. Ruyschaert J., *Juste Lipse et les Annales de Tacite. Une méthode de critique textuelle au XVI^e siècle*, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 3e série, fascicule 34 (Leuven: 1949), 26–30. See also a review article of this publication: Brink C.O., "Justus Lipsius and the Text of Tacitus" *Journal of Roman Studies* 41 (1951) 32–51.

In the remaining part of his introduction Lipsius first dwells upon the order he chose, with the *Historiae* before the *Annales*, since both passages in the text and stylistic arguments prove that this corresponds to the order in which the works were written. Finally he discusses the titles he gave to the works, *Historiae* and *Annales*.

¹¹ The *Mediceus* 68.1 (9th century) is indeed the only manuscript to have preserved the (mutilated) text of what is in modern editions *Annales* I–VI (Lipsius was the first to distinguish between books V and VI, cf. his explication of the lemma 'Cn. Domitius et Camillus', 1574 edition, 707). The *Mediceus* 68.2 (11th century), which was never used as the main foundation of an early printed text, contains the remaining part of the *Annales*, books XI–XVI, and the *Historiae*. The 15th-century manuscripts depend either directly or indirectly on *Mediceus* 68.2.

Monendus mihi initio, Lector, es in hos quinque priores libros observationes meas paucas futuras et eas ipsas ab ingenio omnes, non a libris. Nam quibus usus sum in Italia exemplaribus, ea communi calamitate premebantur et avulsum a reliquo corpore hoc quinque librorum quasi caput amiserant. Unicum exemplar manuscriptum Europa habet, reconditum Bibliotheca Medicaea, quod accurate et cum fide, ut opinio mea fert, Philippus Beroaldus exprimi curavit. Ait et Ferretus vidisse. Quorum fide nitar. Nam mihi inspiciundi occasio non fuit, et, ut vere dicam, post alios ne cupiditas quidem.¹²

At first I have to inform you, reader, that I will make only a small number of observations with regard to books I to V, all of them the result of my own ingenuity, not from my reading. For the copies I used in Italy had all of them suffered a common disaster by having lost these five books like a head torn away from the rest of the body. Europe has only one manuscript copy, held by the *Bibliotheca Medicea*, of which, in my opinion, Philippus Beroaldus has provided an accurate and reliable edition. Ferretus also says that he has seen it. I will rely upon their trustworthiness. For I did not have the opportunity to examine the manuscript nor, to be honest, the desire to do so after others had inspected it.

The edition mentioned was an octavo published by Sebastianus Gryphius in Lyons 1542; it was the continuation of an earlier edition by Beatus Rhenanus (Basle, Hieronymus Froben: 1533), based on an edition by Philippus Beroaldus (Rome: 1515) and reissued by Aemylius Ferretus after he collated it with the important Tacitus manuscripts in Florence.¹³ The major part of Lipsius's copy still survives in Leiden University Library (shelf number 760 F 10) and is interspersed with his barely legible annotations in the margins.¹⁴ [Fig. 2]

1.1. *The Notae as a Predecessor of the Critical Apparatus in Modern Editions*

Before focusing on the information offered in the *Notae*, it is worth having a look at the formal aspect, namely, in what way Lipsius dealt with his source material. Browsing through the *Notae* makes it clear that his practice corresponds fairly well to the critical apparatus in the modern

¹² Cf. the introduction to the *Notae ad Annales* of the 1574 edition, 692.

¹³ Viz. Tacitus, *Ab Excessu Augusti Annalium libri sedecim. Ex castigatione Aemylii Ferreti, Beati Rhenani, Alciati ac Beroaldi* (Lyons, Sebastianus Gryphius: 1542), an octavo. See its description in Baudrier H.L., *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, t. 8 (Lyons: 1910), 168. Nonetheless, as Brink, "Iustus Lipsius and the Text of Tacitus", 33, n. 5 points out, 'Ferretus may have turned the pages of the *Mediceus* [68.1] but the two readings which he reports in his *Annotatiunculae* [...] are both incorrect'.

¹⁴ Lipsius's copy is incomplete: part of the introduction, the transition between the *Dialogus de oratoribus* and the *Vita Agricolae*, and the final pages of the index are lacking.

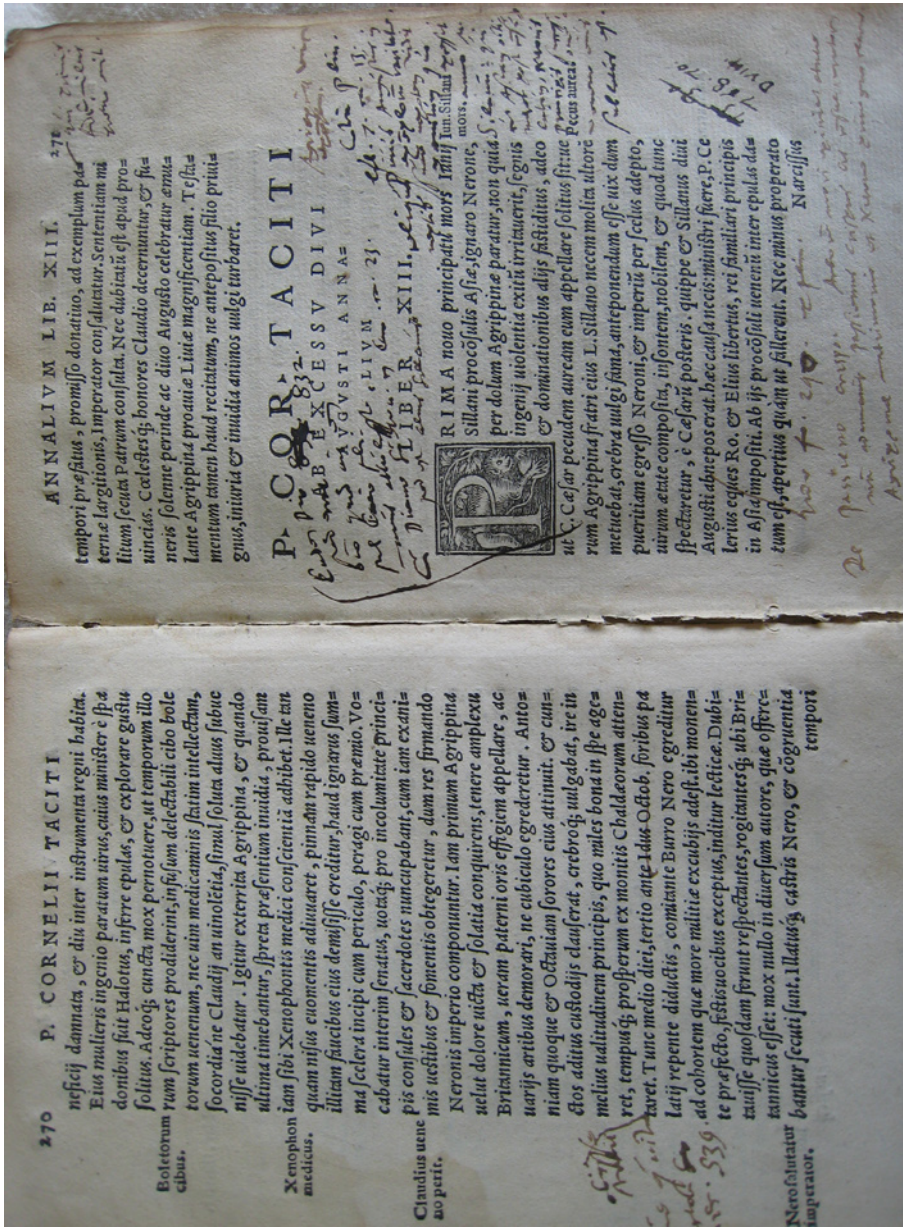


Fig. 2. Aemilius Ferretus's edition of Tacitus with annotations in Lipsius's hand (Lyons, Sebastianus Gryphius: 1542) 270–271 (Leiden, University Library, 760 F 10).

editions, albeit that Lipsius adds some small remarks. Hence one encounters references such as *vulgati* or *vulg<ata> lectio* ('the common version' or 'the common reading'), *Vat<icani> cod<ices>* or *opt<imus> ille Va<icanus>* ('the manuscripts in the Vatican library' or 'the best Vatican codex'), the latter a reference to the manuscript in the Private Vatican Library, *in Farn<esino> cod<ice>* ('in the Farnese manuscript'), and *ab edit[ione] Veneta* (a reference to the aforementioned 1494 edition. When referring to the 1542 edition Lipsius usually adds the names of the editors: Beatus (with or without Rhenanus; sometimes also *ms. Budensis* or *ms. regius*, after the manuscript he had used for his edition),¹⁵ or Ferretus (occasionally also *in Medicaeo*, the codices Medicaei 68.1 and 2 the latter had consulted). A few examples:

38, l. 31. *Velut ad perdendum imperium. Ita libri omnes scripti et impressi. Rhenanus acumine lectionis novae demereri, ut opinor, Tacitum voluit, et partiendum reposuit.*¹⁶

38, l. 31. *As if to destroy the empire.* Thus all the written and printed sources. Rhenanus, who, I think, wanted to oblige Tacitus through the shrewdness of a new reading, altered *perdendum* ('destroy') in *partiendum* ('divide').

486, l. 2. *Ipse scaenam incendit. Restitui ex libris. Nam Farn<esinus> 'Scaenam incendit' addito superius S et Vat<icanus> 'Scaenam incendit'. Vulgati 'Scaenas incedit'.*¹⁷

486, lin 2. *He himself mounted on the scene.* I have restored this from the books. For the Farnesinus reads 'He set fire to the scene' but with a letter S written above it, and the Vaticanus has also 'He set fire to the scene'. The printed versions have 'He went on the scene'.

It should also be noted that in general, emendations, even the ones he approves of, were seldom introduced into the text, but only mentioned in the annotations. Whenever the text has been corrected, it is always indicated in the *Notae*:

106, l. 8. *Aut suomet astu. Ferreti coniecturam ut liquido veram in contextum admisi. Vulg<ati> 'statu'.*¹⁸

¹⁵ Sc. a manuscript in Budapest, belonging to the collection of Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490), king of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia (= ms. Bud. 9).

¹⁶ 1574 version, 654. I have added the page number between brackets, when the *nota* I quote is not the first lemma of that page to be discussed by Lipsius.

¹⁷ Ibidem 737.

¹⁸ Ibidem 668.

106, l. 8. *Or through his own adroitness.* I have inserted Ferretus's emendation in the text, as it is clearly right. Usually 'through his own position'.

Although Beatus Rhenanus is not mentioned in the "Ad lectorem monitio" reference to the 1542 edition, his name occurs frequently in the *Notae*. Quite strikingly, Lipsius mostly disagrees with his predecessor's readings or emendations, often even in a rather condescending way, e.g., by the end of an annotation to *Consul cum Titiano fratre (Historiae I, 77)*,¹⁹ where he adds 'Rhenanus, cum mutilum hac in parte exemplar Budense esset, Musae vestram fidem, quantum turbat! Et quas nugas παρά τὴν ἰστορίαν adfert!' ('Since the copy in Budapest was mutilated in this place, by your leave, Muse, what confusion did Rhenanus bring, and what nonsense he added, having nothing to do with the issue!'). And elsewhere:

56, l. 26. *Non tamen quies urbi red<ierat>.* Locum foede interpolatum partim restitui, partim explevi, auctoribus Vat<icano> et Farn<esino>. Rhenani lectionem, quam gloriatur post diuturnum laborem a se erutam, verisimilem esse ne Cethegus quidem ille Ennii cum Suada sua mihi persuaserit.²⁰

56, l. 26. *Yet peace had not returned in the city.* I have partly restored, partly completed an ugly interpolation, following the authority of the Vatican and the Farnesian manuscripts. But even Ennius's well-known Cethegus together with his Persuasion would not be able to convince me of the likeliness of Rhenanus's reading, which he proudly claims to have discovered after a hard day's work.

84, l. 11. *Aut circumvolitantium alitum.* Ita libri consensu habent et hac lectione nihil melius, nihil clarius. Rhenanus sui similis est, et pro Taciti verbis mera monstra nobis obstruit: 'Coetu hominum circumvolitantem alitem.' Praeclare! Tacitus ait uno loco constanter desedissee; ille volentem eam facit, misertus (credo) tam longae sessionis.

84, l. 11. *Or winged creatures flying around it.* That is what all codices agree upon, and there is no better, no clearer way of reading it. Rhenanus is true to himself and thrusts some real monsters against us, instead of Tacitus's words: 'A winged creature, flying around a group of people'. Marvellous! Whereas Tacitus says that [the bird] remained motionless the whole time, he has it flying around, taking pity (I suppose) on such a long period of rest.

Time and again Lipsius also refers to Marcus Vertranius Maurus, a humanist from Lyons, although his name is not explicitly mentioned in the introduction. He had edited the *Annales* and published *Notae* to both the *Annales*

¹⁹ Ibidem 657, explaining the text [p. 51] l. 32.

²⁰ Ibidem 658. The Cethegus mentioned here was a distinguished orator who is also praised by Cicero and Horace.

and the *Historiae*,²¹ and although he is often characterized as a learned man (*vir eruditus*), he often gets a taunt as well, if only for being too dependent on his predecessor since he had based his edition on Rhenanus:

543, l. 32. *Quod ad omina olim*. Sincera haec lectio. Omen futuri exitus Neroni ex eo, quod Divum appellarat. Ridicule Rhenanus et eius quasi subscriptor Vertranius, 'Quod clam ad omen ac dolum'. Nam 'olim', ut grammatici loquuntur, futuri hic temporis nota est.²²

543, l. 32. *Which is interpreted as an omen of his future [death]*. This is a correct reading. The omen of Nero's impending death comes from the fact that he was called 'the Divine'. Rhenanus's suggestion, adopted by Vertranius, his copyist, so to speak, 'Which is secretly as an omen and a trick' is ridiculous. For 'olim', as mentioned by the grammarians, here indicates the future.

Furthermore, Lipsius occasionally refers to manuscripts or early editions he had casually consulted throughout his travels. For instance when annotating *Bedriaci sistit*²³ he comments in the following way:

70, l. 33. *Bedriaci sistit*. Vicus parvus, sed duabus Romanis cladibus insignis, nec minus dignus cuius verum nomen noscatur quam Pharsalia aut Philippi. Vulgo Bebriacum appellant atque ita Iuvenalis libri praeferunt illo versu:

Bebriaci in campo spoliū adfectare Palati

Sincerus ille Vat[icanus] semper Bedriacum. Quomodo et in manuscripto libro Clarissimi Viri Iohannis Sambuci exstare cognovimus, cum strictim eum Viennae et quasi per transennam inspexissemus. In Suetonii duobus antiquis Betriacum legi vir industrius Theodorus Pulmannus me monuit. Sane et in Plutarcho scribitur *Βητριάκον πολίχνην πλησίον Κρεμύωνες*. Nos tamen Vaticanum secuti sumus.

70, l. 33. *He stopped at Bedriacum*. A small village, but notorious because of two Roman defeats and its true name merits to be known no less than Pharsalia or Philippi. It is usually called Bebriacum and that is how it is preferred in a verse in Juvenal:

'In the plain of Bebriacum to aspire to the spoils of the Palatine'

²¹ Both works were seen through the press in Lyons by the heirs of Sebastianus Gryphius in 1569. Lipsius owned a copy, at least of Vertranius's commentary, cf. his library catalogue (Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 59), fol. 14r, book 6: 'Vertrani Mauri Notationes in Tacitum, 16, Lyon, 69'.

²² Ibidem, 748.

²³ *Historiae* II, 23, cf. the 1574 edition, 661. *Vicus [...] insignis* is a paraphrase of how Tacitus defines the village; the quotation from Juvenal is *Satirae* 2, 106 (but now read as *Bebriaci campis solium [...]*); *strictim [...] per transennam* is borrowed from Cicero, *De Oratore* I, 35 (cf. also Erasmus, *Adages*, III, 1,49); Suetonius mentions Betriacum in *Otho* 9, and the Plutarch quotation is *Otho* 8, 1.

The reliable Vatican manuscript always has *Bedriacum* and I have seen that that is also how it occurs in a manuscript of the illustrious Johannes Sambucus, which I have examined cursorily and, so to speak, while staying in Vienna. Theodorus Pulmannus, an industrious scholar, informed me that two old manuscripts of Suetonius read *Betriacum*. And in Plutarch also is written *Betriacum*, a small town near Cremona. I, however, have followed the Vatican version.

Lipsius is recalling here his sojourn in Vienna in the summer of 1572, where, with the help of a letter of recommendation by Christopher Plantin, he became acquainted with Sambucus (1531–1584).²⁴ Elsewhere, he remembers discussing some passages in his favourite author with Claudius Chiffletius (1541–1580) during a brief sojourn in Dole.²⁵

417, l. 10. *Quidquid habitum Neronibus*. Monuit me cum nuper in Sequanis essem Claudius Chiffletius, Iuris Consultus, leg<endum> 'Quidquid avitum', cui planissime assentior.²⁶

417, l. 10. *Whatever Nero's family owned*. When I was in Burgundy lately, the learned Claudius Chiffletius, a lawyer, pointed out to me that one should read 'Whatever they had from their ancestors', and I completely agree with him.

²⁴ Lipsius dedicated Tacitus's *Opera minora* to him (the *Annales* and *Historiae* were dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II). Sambucus in his turn ensured that Lipsius was granted 30 gold ducats by the emperor and sent him additional variant readings after the *editio princeps* was published. Cf. on this additional material an overlooked letter from Sambucus to Lipsius, cf. Deneire T. and De Landtsheer J., "Lipsiana in the Waller Manuscript Collection, in particular an Unknown Letter from Johannes Sambucus (1582) and a Letter to Janus Dousa (1583) reconsidered", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 57 (2008) 209–226. The contacts with Pulmannus were easier: they probably met occasionally in Antwerp, since Plantin had published several of Pulmannus's editions of classical authors.

²⁵ Lipsius spent a few weeks in Dole, on his way to Vienna, around New Year 1572. He was present when his friend, Victor Giselinus, obtained the degree of doctor in medicine, on which occasion he delivered an oration, *Utrum iurisprudentia an medicina plus boni hominibus attulerit*. Cf. ILE I, 72 06 00, introd.

²⁶ Cf. 1574 edition, 717. Two years after the demise of his brother, Johannes Chiffletius (1550–1602) received a letter from Muretus (dat. 7 July 1582), insisting that he should publish Claudius's manuscript of Tacitus, to vindicate part of the merits of Lipsius's 1574 edition. Cf. Ruysschaert, *Le séjour* 160–161 and Muretus's letter on pp. 190–191. Claudius Chiffletius's (still unedited) manuscript is preserved in Besançon, *Collection Chifflet*, vol. 144 and has been discussed by Ruysschaert, *Juste Lipse et les Annales de Tacite* 144–154. In a letter (dat. 17 January 1595) Johannes Chiffletius assures Lipsius that he will certainly not revive the squabbles over his edition of Tacitus. He longed to publish some 500 of his brother's conjectures on Tacitus, but the greater part can be found in Lipsius's subsequent editions, an evidence of the sound judgement and unflagging zeal of both humanists. Quarreling about who was the first to come upon them would be sheer narrow-mindedness. Cf. ILE VIII, 95 01 17 C (ILE VIII = *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae, pars VIII: 1595*, ed. J. De Landtsheer [Brussels: 2004]).

Quite often Lipsius offers an emendation based not on a variant reading but rather on his own sense of the language. In such cases he usually states 'lego / scribo' ('I read / write'), 'lego igitur' ('hence I read'), 'sic emendavi' ('I made the following emendation'), or somewhat less sure 'legendum / scribendum arbitror' ('I believe one should read / write'), 'verius puto' ('I think it is better'), 'malim' ('I rather prefer'), 'legerim' ('I would rather read'), 'forte' ('perhaps'):

[39] l. 17. *Expeditionem et aciem*. Nisi cui videatur audacius, perquam libens legerim 'expeditionem quam otium, praemia quam stipendia malebat', ut clarior sit ἀντιθέσις.

[39] l. 17. *Campaign and battle-array*. Unless this seems rather preposterous to someone, I am very much inclined to read 'campaign rather than inactivity', rewards rather than mere payment, to make the antithese more pronounced.²⁷

Often he also adds a formula to indicate that the final decision is left to the reader:

108, l. 9. *Petovionem*. Vat<icanus> Petoevionem; Farn<esinus> Petrovionem. Ammianus nominat 'Petobionem'. Eligat lector.²⁸

108, l. 9. *Petovionem*. The Vatican manuscript has Petoevionem; the codex Farnesinus Petrovionem. Ammianus mentions 'Petobionem'. Let the reader make his choice.

128, l. 20. **Simul ceterorum fides*. Non ignoro quam sententiam ex his verbis Ferretus et alii expresserint; mihi tamen non persuadent locum aut integrum esse aut certe sincerum. Iudicent docti.

128, l. 20. **At the same time the loyalty of the others*. I am well aware of the interpretation Ferretus and others have given to these words, yet they do not persuade me that this passage is complete, or at least that it is not corrupt. Let learned readers be the judges.²⁹

In some occurrences a formula such as 'Videtur mutanda distinctio' (Apparently, the punctuation needs to be altered), or something similar asserts that a mere change in the punctuation may clarify a seemingly obscure text:

²⁷ Cf. 1574 edition, 654.

²⁸ Ibidem 669.

²⁹ Ibidem 676.

16, l. 14. *Agerent ferrent cuncta*. Sic Graeci ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν usurpant. Veteres tamen mei 'Agerent verterent' referebant. Videtur mutanda distinctio, 'Agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti in dominos <servi>'.³⁰

16, l. 14. *They robbed and everything*. The Greeks use ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν in this way. Yet my early versions have here 'Agerent verterent'. Apparently the separation mark should be altered: 'They robbed and ruined everything amid hatred and terror. Slaves were bribed against their masters'.

Lipsius also warns his readers about the orthography of certain words, confirming his point of view by quoting inscriptions:

27, l. 7. *Proculo speculatori*. Sic ubique scribendum et spiculatores illos qui vulgatos libros insederant e finibus Romanae historiae eiiciendos puto. Auctores habeo libros in quibus omnibus paullum modo antiquioribus semper *speculator* ἀντὶ τοῦ *spiculator* scribitur. A quibus dicunt lapides, Romae ad Divi Sebastiani

P[UBLIO] AEL[IO] MUCIANO.
SPEC[ULATORI] LEG[IONIS] II.
ADIUT[RICIS]

et ad primum lapidem ab Aemilia

L[UCIO] CASURIO. L[UCII] F[ILIO]
CL[ARO] V[IRO] SPECULATORI.

Item alibi

SCHOLA. SPECULATORUM. LEGIONUM.
I. ET. II. ADIUTRICUM. PIARUM. FIDELIUM [...]³¹

27, l. 7. *To Proculus, a body-guard*.³² That is how it should be written everywhere and I believe that those 'spiculatores' who are occupying the published books needs to be banned from the borders of Roman history. My opinion is vouched for by all the somewhat older publications, in which is always written *speculator* instead of *spiculator*. See on this matter inscriptions in Rome, near St Sebastian's

TO PUBLIUS AELIUS MUCIANUS
SPECULATOR (BODY-GUARD) OF THE II
AUXILIARY LEGION

and on the first stone from the Aemilia

TO LUCIUS CASURIUS. SON OF LUCIUS
A NOBLE MAN, A SPECULATOR (BODY-GUARD)

And elsewhere

SCHOLA. SPECULATORUM. LEGIONUM
I. ET. II. ADIUTRICUM. PIARUM. FIDELIUM [...]
THE SCHOOL OF THE SPECULATORES (BODY-GUARD) OF THE
AUXILIARY LEGIONS I AND II DEVOUT AND LOYAL.

³⁰ Ibidem 648.

³¹ Ibidem 651. A *legio adiutrix* (auxiliary legion) was raised in the provinces by a proconsul to reinforce the veteran army. The complete inscription dedicated to Lucius Casurius can be found in Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 22, fol. 20r.

³² About the translation by 'body-guard' instead of 'scout', cf. infra, n. 50.

On several occasions, however, he has to admit that it is impossible to restore an entirely correct text; in these cases he informs his reader either laconically or in rather ornate language that something is wrong with the phrasing, without offering a solution. A few examples:

25, l. 12. *Exactioni XXX equites*. In Suetonio legitur 'quingaginta'. Uter horum emendandum mihi non liquet.³³

25, l. 12. *Thirty Roman Knights [were appointed for] the process of recovery*. In Suetonius one reads 'fifty'. Which of these has to be corrected is not clear to me.

110, l. 6. *Ceterum ut transmitteret in Italiam* *. Locus foede corruptus et quem vix Aesculapius cum parente suo sanaverint. [...].³⁴

110, l. 6. *But to send him back to Italy* *. An awfully corrupted passage, which even Aesculapius and his father will hardly be able to restore. [...].

111, l. 22. *Fidei commissae* *patientior. Apollo, tuam fidem, nam Lipsius divinandi artem non habet. In Vat<icano> et Farn<esino> erat 'Gens fidei commissior patientior', de qua scriptura mihi hiscendi est nulla potestas, ut Lucretius loquitur.³⁵

111, l. 22. *More inclined to committed faith*. By your leave, Apollo, for Lipsius has no experience at all with the art of divination. The Vatican and the Farnesian codices read 'A tribe, more committed and more patient', a phrasing 'on which I can by no means open my mouth and tell', to quote Lucretius.

486, l. 12: *Necdum insignis* *aetatis. De hoc loco non aliud pronunciem quam Delphos ad Apollinem ablegandum videri, si forte illic medicinam possit accipere. Nam ego sane divinitus nescio et destituunt nos libri.³⁶

486, l. 12: *Not yet of a prominent age*. The only thing I would say about this passage is that one should send someone to Apollo in Delphi, if perchance one could find some remedy there. For I am definitely out of inspiration and our books fail us.

1.2. *About the Contents of the Notae*

Unlike the modern critical apparatus, which is limited to variant readings or possible emendations with their source reference, the major part of Lipsius's *Notae* include some arguments to justify the reading or the emendation of his choice, mostly by quoting other occurrences. A quick glance

³³ Ibidem 651.

³⁴ Ibidem 669.

³⁵ Ibidem 673, with a quotation of Lucretius, *De rerum natura* IV, 66.

³⁶ Ibidem 737.

makes it clear that he used an impressive amount of sources: a wide range of Greek and Latin authors, covering more than a thousand years, from Homer to the early Fathers, historians, but also poets, playwrights, philosophers, grammarians, sometimes even other occurrences in Tacitus himself or the occasional law text, depending on the issue. His sojourn in Rome had also made him aware of the importance of epigraphic and, in some rare cases, numismatic information. But as mentioned previously, these sources are mostly used to confirm a reading or to prove an emendation, not to give the reader a better understanding of what Tacitus is narrating.

It is obvious that already in this early period of his scholarly career Lipsius had become quite familiar with Tacitus's idiosyncratic language. In consequence, he often rejects unnecessary corrections by predecessors or acknowledges suggestions made because the text becomes more Tacitean.

218, l. 26. *Questus, adulationes*. Assentior Petro Divaeo, erudito viro, 'adulationes' legenti. Singula enim verba opposita a Tacito videntur singulis. Vulg<ati> adulatione.³⁷

218, l. 26. *Complaints, flattering words*. I agree with Petrus Divaeus, a learned man, who reads 'flattering words'. For Tacitus seems to have opposed words in singular with each other. The commonly known reading is 'flattery'.

528, l. 21. *Et quaesitissimis poenis*. Ita Vat<icanus> recte et ex consuetudine Taciti. Vulgo exquisitissimis.³⁸

528, l. 21. *With the most sophisticated punishments*. The Vatican codex is right here and corresponds to Tacitus's idiom. Usually 'exquisitissimis'.

Unusual idioms are sometimes confirmed by a similar phrasing elsewhere in Tacitus:

[21] l. 16. *Octaviam uxorem amoliretur*. Hac dictione in eandem rem usus est Tacitus, libro XIV et sic libri manuscripti referebant. Rhenano aliter visum est.³⁹

[21] l. 16. *Until he could rid himself of his wife Octavia*. Tacitus used this idiom about the same issue in book XIV [of the *Annales*] and that is what you find in the manuscript codices. Rhenanus has a different opinion.

[61] l. 8. *Regem Aëriam*. Mire variant libri. Vat<icanus> Verianum, quomodo et Budensis; Farn<esinus> Venerianum. Alciato Iurisconsulto placuit Vra-

³⁷ Ibidem 693.

³⁸ Ibidem 746.

³⁹ Ibidem 650 with a reference to *Annales* XIV, 59: 'maturare parat Octaviamque coniugem amoliri'.

nium. Ego ut veterem lectionem in possessione retineam, moveor altero Tacito loco, Annalibus III, 'Exin Cyprii tribus delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri, Aërias auctor, post filius eius, Amathus' etc.⁴⁰

[61] l. 8. *King Aërias*. It is quite amazing how the codices differ. The Vatican codex reads Verianus, as does the one in Budapest. The Farnesinus has Venerianus. Alciati, a lawyer, prefers Vranus. I am encouraged to keep the reading in the early printed version from another occurrence in Tacitus, in *Annals* 3: 'Next the Cypriots referred to three temples. The oldest, built by Aërias is devoted to Venus of Paphus, the next one, built by his son, Amathus' etc.

230, l. 15. *Ex duce metus*. Nihil mutandum. Loquitur sic in *Agricola*: 'Quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex legato timor agitabat'.⁴¹

230, l. 15. *Dread of the general*. Nothing must be changed. He speaks in a similar way in the *Agricola*. 'They were troubled by the conscious guilt of defection and a particular dread of the legate'.

But other authors are also frequently used to confirm an emendation:

87, l. 14. [*Nihi...*] *Vitellio anquirente*. Non dubitavi antiquum hoc verbum reponere, cum in Vatic[ano] et Farn[esino] reperissem 'acquirente'. 'Anquiro' pro 'inquiri' sive 'valde quaero' probum et meliori nota signatum verbum est, Ciceroni, Varroni, et primariis scriptoribus sexcenties usurpatum, sed fere ab imperitis depravatum in 'acquiri' aut 'inquiri'.⁴²

87, l. 14. *Vitellius making no inquiries*. I had no doubts at all to replace this archaic word, although I had found in the Vaticanus and the Farnesinus 'to acquire'. 'Anquiro' as a synonym for 'inquiri' or 'to institute a careful examination' is correct and well-approved, and used hundreds of times by Cicero, Varro, and authors of the first rank, but men without experience have it corrupted into 'acquiri' or 'inquiri'.

92, l. 4. *Inter inania belli*. Lego 'immania'. In eodem verbo error inveteravit in Ciceronis II de legibus: 'Tum ebur ex inani corpore extractum.' Nam et illic leg[endum] 'immani'.⁴³

92, l. 4. *Amidst idle wars*. I read 'enormous'. There is an error of long standing concerning this same word in the second book of Cicero's *Laws*: 'Then the ivory was extracted from the empty body'. For here too, one should read 'enormous'.

⁴⁰ Ibidem 660. *Annales* III, 62, 4 is quoted.

⁴¹ Ibidem 695. *Agricola* 16 is quoted.

⁴² Ibidem 665.

⁴³ Ibidem 665 with a reference to Cicero, *De Legibus* II, 18, 45, where 'inani' is corrected into 'inanimi'.

Besides innumerable linguistic issues Lipsius frequently suggests corrections in proper names, be it of persons or geographical specifications, proving his point by referring to other historians of the same period – Suetonius, Cassius Dio, and Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives* – to Strabo's geography, and quite often to epigraphic material. At the same time, the philologist cannot resist pointing out errors in the sources cited and suggesting emendations.

15, l. 7. *Servius Galba iterum*. Sulpiciae gentis, ex qua Galba ortus, peculiare praenomen Servii fuit. Emendandus aliquammultis locis Suetonius, apud quem Sergius perperam scribitur, gentile nomen Catilinarum. In Dione et Plutarcho est Σερούιος Γάλβας.

l. 8. *T[itus] Vinius Co[n]sul*. Vulgati T[itus] Iunius. Mihi religio non fuit sequi scripturam antiqui marmoris eruti ad radices montis Caelii :

SER[VIO] GALBA II T[ITO] VINIO CO[N]S[ULIBUS].

A quo praesertim staret Plutarchus, qui fere hunc hominem *Τίτον Ὀβίνιον* aut *Ουίνιον* nominat. Interpretes eius qui id immutarunt ubique in Iunium, ut libere loquar, duri oris videntur.⁴⁴

15, l. 7. *Servius Galba for the second time*. The *gens Sulpicia*, of which Galba was a descendant, had the rather peculiar first name of Servius. Suetonius needs to be corrected in several places: in his work it is often erroneously written Sergius, the family name of the Catilinas. In Dio and Plutarch one finds Servius Galba.

l. 8. *Consul Titus Vinius*. The common reading is Titus Iunius. I had no objection in following the inscription on an old marble stone, excavated at the foot of the Caelian hill:

WHEN SER[VIVS] GALBA FOR THE SECOND TIME AND TITUS VINIUS WERE CONSULS.

Plutarch in particular does not agree with this: he most often calls this man Titus Ovinus or Vinius. The commentators who have changed this everywhere to Iunius seem to have had an insensitive ear [literally: mouth], if I may speak bluntly.

402, l. 19: *Domum suam Mnester*. In Vat<icano> est 'Nesteris', in Farn<esino> Nestoris. Mnester germanum huic histrioni nomen fuit, idque praeter Senecam, Suetonium, Dionem duo lapides vetusti docent Romae in aedibus Crepanicii,

TI[TO] IULIO
AUG[USTI] L[IBERTO]
Mnesteri

Rhenanus 'M<arcus> Nestor' Homerum somnians reposuerat.⁴⁵ [Fig. 3]

⁴⁴ Cf. 1574 edition, 647.

⁴⁵ Ibidem 711.

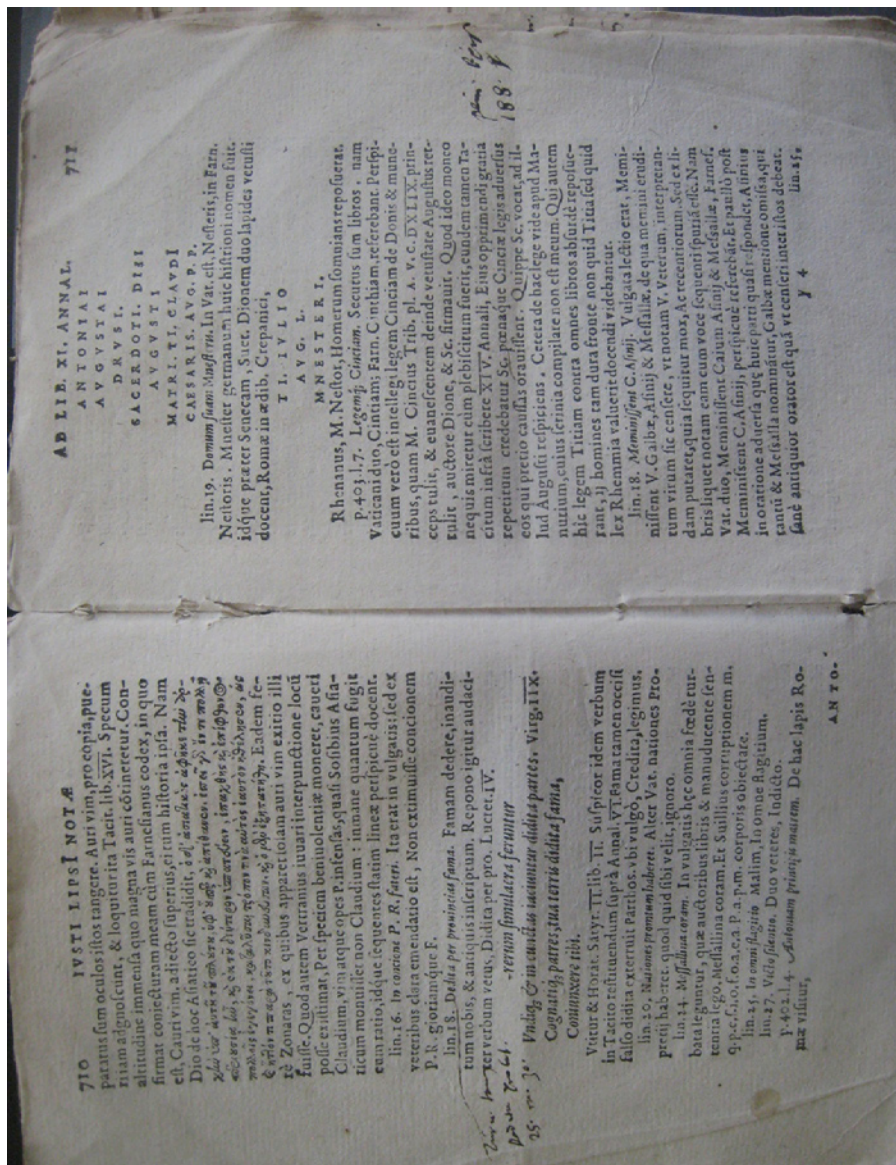


Fig. 3. Two pages of the *Notae ad Annales* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1574) 710–711 (Leiden, University Library, 760 F n).

402, l. 19: *His house to Mnester*. The Vaticanus has 'Nester', the Farnesinus Nestor. Mnester is the real name of this stage-player, and besides in Seneca, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio, it is also attested by two ancient stones in Rome, in the house of Crepanicius,

To Titus Iulius

Mnester,

Freedmen of Emperor Claudius,

Rhenanus was dreaming of Homer when he corrected Marcus Nestor.

Lipsius, unlike many of his friends and colleagues, never showed much interest in coins, but nevertheless he occasionally adds a reference to a coin. Presumably he copied a number of their inscriptions during his sojourn in Rome, when Fulvio Orsini showed him his impressive collection:

[486] l. 21. *Livineius Regulus*. Sic restitui, cum in libris esset Lividineius. Livineiae gentis Reguli fuerunt. Nummus Gaii Caesaris, L[ucius] LIVINEIUS REGULUS III.VIR. A[ERE] A[RGENTO] A[URO] F[LANDO] F[ERIUNDO] AB ADVERSA PARTE, CAESAR IMP[ERATOR].⁴⁶

[486] l. 21. *Livineius Regulus*. That is what I restored, for in the codices I found Lividineius. The Reguli belonged to the *gens Livineia*. This is attested on a coin from Caius Caesar: LUCIUS LIVINEIUS REGULUS, DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.⁴⁷ And on the obverse CAESAR IMPERATOR.

Inscriptions, on the other hand, are often used to elucidate a passage:

[80] l. 8. *Cui cognomen rapaci*. Non ab re arbitror, quoniam cognomina legionum saepe Tacitus

commemoratur, veterem a me lapidem proponi, quod sciam in vulgus nondum editum, qui singulas Populi Romani legiones cognominibus suis recenset. Conspicitur Romae in Capitolii area columella marmorea, [Figs. 4-5]

NOMINA LEGIONUM

II. AUGUSTA	II. ADIUTRIX	IIII. SCYTHICA
VI. VICTRIX	IIII. FLAVIA	XVI. FLAVIA
XX. VICTRIX	VII. CLAUDIA	VI. FERRATENSIS
VIII. AUGUSTA	I. ITALICA	X. FRETENSIS
XXII. PRIMIGENIA	V. MACEDONICA	III. CYRENENSIS
I. MINERVIA	XI. CLAUDIA	II. TRAIANA
XXX. ULPIA	XIII. GEMINA	III. AUGUSTA
I. ADIUTRIX	XII. FULMINATRIX	VII. GEMINA
X. GEMINA	XV. APOLLINEA	II. ITALICA
XIII. GEMINA	III. GALLICANA	III. PARTHICA
I. PARTHICA	II. PARTHICA	

⁴⁶ Ibidem 737. The coin, an *argenteus*, is listed in Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 22, fol. IIIv. Next to it Lipsius noted details about the representations: 'lituus et infundibulum' (a crooked staff and a funnel).

⁴⁷ Literally 'Tresvir of casting and coining bronze, silver and gold'.

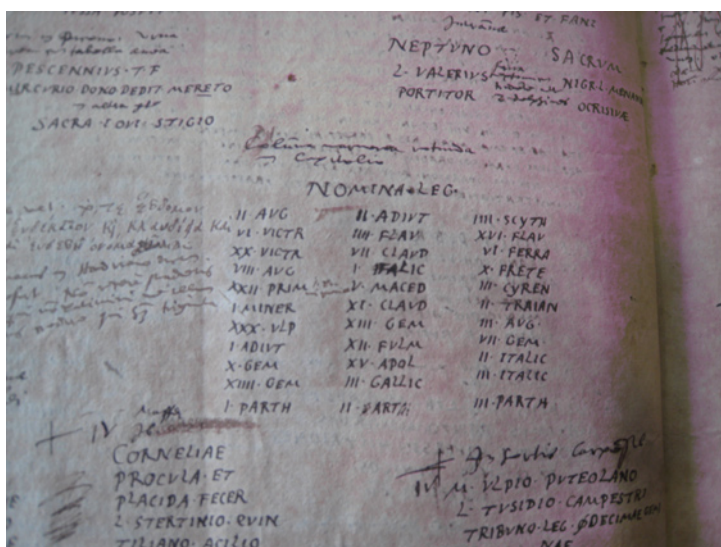


Fig. 4. Lipsius's copy of an inscription with the surnames of the Roman legions (Leiden, University Library, ms. 22) fol. 18v.

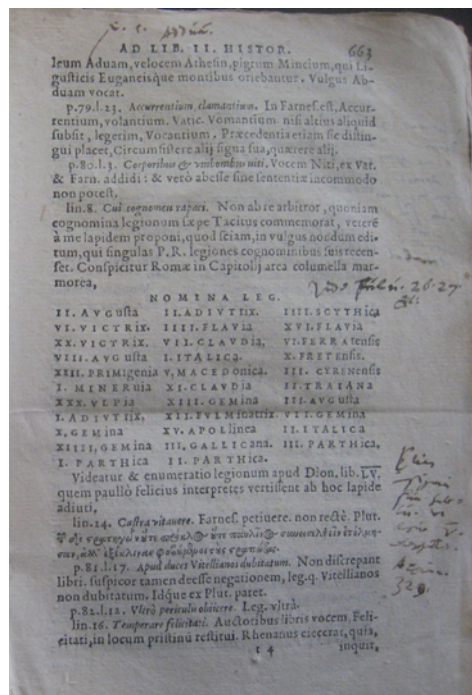


Fig. 5. The same list in the *editio princeps* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1574) 663 (Leiden, University Library, 760 F 11).

Videatur et enumeratio legionum apud Dionem, libro LV, quem paullo felicius interpretes vertissent ab hoc lapide adiuti.⁴⁸

Whose surname was the rapacious. It is not beside the point, I believe (for Tacitus often mentions the surnames of the legions), to propose an old stone giving a survey of each of the legions of the Roman people with its surname, because that stone has never been published before, as I know. It can be seen in Rome, in the court of the Capitol, on a marble column.

[*Here follow the names*]

The list of the legions can also be seen in Dio Cassius, book 55, which the translators could have translated somewhat more successfully with the help of this stone.

Lipsius had copied the names from a 'round marble column on the Capitol' during his stay in Rome, but overlooked a mistake in the printed version here, where III. ITALICA is omitted in the third column, between II. ITALICA and III. PARTHICA.

Occasionally he will also elucidate the meaning of a word or elaborate on a personal or geographical name to help his reader to better understand the text. In the aforementioned case where he insists on writing *speculatores* instead of *spiculatores*,⁴⁹ he prefaces his annotation with a few words on its meaning:

Quibus locis omnibus speculator appellatur non is qui vulgo κατάσκοπος, sed militum certum genus qui praeter gladium lanceas gestasse videntur. Suetonius in Claudio: 'Neque convivia inire ausus est, nisi ut speculatores cum lanceis circumstarent.' Et in Galba: 'Descendentem Galbam speculator impulsu turbae lancea prope vulneravit.' Hanc scribendi rationem etiam in Budensi codice perpetuam fuisse testatur.⁵⁰

In all these aforementioned occurrences 'speculator' does not refer to someone who is usually called 'κατάσκοπος' [scout], but to a particular type of soldier wearing a lance besides his sword. Suetonius in his *Claudius*: 'He did not even dare to enter a banquet unless bodyguards with lances surrounded him' and in the *Galba*: 'And as Galba dismounted, a body-guard, pushed forward by the crowd, almost wounded him with his spear'.

Time and again, he already anticipates his next publication, the *A 345 nti-quae lectiones*,⁵¹ in which he gathers once more corrections or explana-

⁴⁸ Cf. 1574 edition, 663. The inscription is preserved in Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 22, fol. 18v. In the later editions the omission has not been corrected.

⁴⁹ Cf. the corresponding text to n. 31.

⁵⁰ Cf. Suetonius, *Claudius* 35 and *Galba* 18. Lipsius is right with his remark: these scouts formed a special unit in each legion; under the emperors they were employed as special adjutants and body-guards of a general or of the emperor.

⁵¹ Its full title is *Antiquarum lectionum commentarius tributus in partes quinque, in quibus varia scriptorum loca, Plauti praecipue, illustrantur aut emendantur* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1575).

tions to dubious passages in a number of classical authors, Tacitus among them.

59, l. 12. *Nondum conditorum ancilium*. Rationem huius consuetudinis a paucis perspectam in Commentariis meis Antiquarum lectionum, libro V explicavi.⁵²

59, l. 12. [...] *That the sacred shields had not yet been restored to their place*. The practical information of this practice, which is known to only few, is given in my *Comments on ancient readings*, book V.

In rare occasions Lipsius justifies his reading or emendation by pondering upon the sense of a phrase:

223, l. 9. *[Non] adesse caput reipublicae*. Ferretus ait ita legi in Medicaeo. Quae si recta lectio est, nihil sane video cur his verbis offendi tantopere Tiberius debuerit. Ego putem legendum 'Capita reipublicae' atque id verbum Tiberii animum altius penetrasse, tamquam Haterius reipublicae regimen ad plures revocaret.⁵³

223, l. 9. *That the state has no leader*. Ferretus says that this is the reading of the Medicaeus. If this is indeed right, I really do not see why Tiberius should have been so deeply offended by these words. I would rather consider reading 'that the state has no leaders' and that word must have penetrated more deeply into Tiberius's consciousness, as if Haterius claimed that the government of the state would be a concern for several people.

487, l. 24. *Necessitate certandi*. Ita libri, rectissime. Constat enim a Nerone aliisque principibus cum ipsi cura ludorum fungerentur, nobiles cives subactos ad necessitatem certaminum gymnicorum. Vulgati spectandi.⁵⁴

487, l. 24. *The obligation of fighting*. That is what you find in the books. Quite rightly, for it is beyond doubt that Nero and other emperors who occupied themselves with organizing games submitted noble citizens to the unavoidable obligation of taking part in gymnastic games. The common version is 'of watching'.

In a few cases an annotation is added without the need to discuss a variant reading or an obscure meaning, solely because Tacitus's uncorrupted text offers the opportunity of emendating another author. This happens in the following examples:

⁵² Cf. 1574 edition, 659.

⁵³ Ibidem 694.

⁵⁴ Ibidem 740.

18, l. 27. *Cluvius Rufus*. Is est qui sui temporis historiam scripsit, alibi a Tacito nominatus. Emendandum eius nomen in Plutarchi Othone, sub initium, ubi male legitur 'Κλαύδιος δὲ Ροῦφος pro Κλούβιος'.⁵⁵

18, l. 27. *Cluvius Rufus*. He is the one who wrote the history of his own age, named elsewhere by Tacitus. His name should be corrected in Plutarch's *Life of Otho*, near the beginning, which has the erroneous reading 'Clausius Rufus' instead of 'Clubius'.

37, l. 17: *Pisonem Verania uxor [ac frate. . . composuere]*. Ex hoc loco emendandus Plutarchus: τὴν δὲ Πείσωνος [κεφαλὴν] ἢ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν οὐ κρανίου δεηθεῖσα. Legendum q<uasi> ἔλαβεν Οὐεράνια δεηθεῖσα. Verania enim uxor precibus caput mariti extorsit. Non attigit germanam emendationem vir eruditus interpres Plutarchi, qui vertit 'Pisonis accepit uxor precibus a Veranio'.⁵⁶

37, l. 17: *Piso was [laid to rest] by his wife Verania [and his brother. . .]*. On the basis of this passage Plutarchus must be corrected: 'His wife received the head of Piso, without asking for the skull'. It should be read as if it were 'For his wife Verania, by pleading, succeeded in obtaining her husband's head'. The learned translator of Plutarch, who wrote 'Piso's wife received by pleading from Veranium', did not arrive at a true emendation.

To sum up this first part, it can be stated that the annotations were still rather limited in number and mostly focused on establishing as pure a text as possible, presenting the reader with variant readings found in previous sources and possible emendations, sometimes merely keeping to the facts, sometimes adding explanations of justifications. Moreover, in his *Notae* Lipsius is already proving his utter familiarity with an impressive number of Latin and Greek authors, and making good use of the epigraphic material he had copied during his stay in Rome or acquired from early printed collections of inscriptions.

2. *The Commentaries of the Later Editions*

2.1. *The Commentarius ad Annales* (1581)

Soon after the publication of the *editio princeps*, Lipsius resumed his work on Tacitus by thoroughly revising his text and establishing the promised

⁵⁵ Ibidem 649. Lipsius refers to Plutarch, *Otho* 3, 2. His emendation is adopted in (and explicitly mentioned in the critical apparatus to) the edition by R. Flacelière and E. Chambry, *Plutarque. Vies*, t. 15 (Paris: 1979) 186.

⁵⁶ Ibidem 654. Lipsius refers to Plutarch *Galba* 28, 2. The modern editions all have the correct text.

commentary. According to Plantin's correspondence the second edition of Tacitus, an in-octavo of over 600 pages, was sent to the press already before New Year 1580. Marginal notes, signified by an asterisk in the text, were added to alert the reader of corrupt or suspect passages, which were discussed in the commentary. Notwithstanding his friend's promises, Plantin had to be patient again, for writing the commentary took more time than Lipsius had expected. It became probably an extended version of what he had in mind before, for his lectures had made him aware that a correct and 'clean' text, however important, was not the only requisite to truly understand an author. His audience and his readership also needed a more practical commentary combining biographical details with more elaborate information about historical events, occasional remarks about the accounts of the same events in other historians, and information about innumerable aspects of life in antiquity. Finally, and perhaps also to push his friend somewhat, the printer decided to go ahead with the text edition in order to have it available at the Spring book fair of Frankfurt (it was ready near the end of January 1581).⁵⁷ By that time 'the commentary was sweating on the press', as he informed one of his correspondents without, however, mentioning that it was limited to the *Annales* only. The *Notae* to the *Historiae* and the *Opera minora* have disappeared.⁵⁸ In an address to the reader Lipsius apologized for its delay, stressing the fact that it was far more extensive than anything Tacitus scholars before him had ever published:

Habes Commentarium meum, Lector, opinione tua, et promisso meo fortasse tardius. Nec mirum: quia serio opus adgressus eiusmodi, comperi ut properandum in eo mihi fuerit, non festinandum. Multa in Annalium libris rara, recondita, et paucitate scriptorum eius aevi obscura: multa etiam ex non vulgatis ritibus et vetustissimo iure haurienda. Nec dux mihi alius ad hoc iter. Primi, inquam, hanc viam ingredimur, Ferreto, Alciato, Vertranio visam potius quam tritam. Denique scripsi hos Commentarios, non exscripsi: et meo remigio, ut ille ait, rem gessi. Correctiones aliquot veteres firmavi, novas addidi, neutrum ambitiose [...].⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Unlike the *Notae* of the first part, the lay-out is less easy for the reader: only page numbers are given, with only an indent when the next lemma on the same page is discussed. Moreover, the letter size of the lemma and the explication is the same. Whereas the lemma in the 1574 edition was mostly limited to only a few words, it is much longer now.

⁵⁸ *Iusti Lipsi ad Annales Cornelii Taciti liber commentarius, sive notae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1581). Lipsius's copy with occasional annotations scribbled in the margins is preserved in Leiden, University Library, shelf number 760 G 9.

⁵⁹ Cf. "Ad lectorem" of the 1581 commentary, fol. *5r–*6r. The opposition of *properare* – *festinare* is borrowed from Cato the Elder *apud Gellium* XVI, 14, 2. Once again, the name of Beatus Rhenanus is lacking in the enumeration!

Behold, here is my *Commentary*, Reader, albeit probably later than you expected and later than I promised. No wonder: by applying myself to that kind of task in earnest I learned that I had to hasten, but not to hurry. In many points the *Annales* are unusual, abstruse, and, because of the paucity of authors of that time, also obscure. Many other facts must be drawn from secret rites or very ancient laws. I had no one to guide me on this journey; I mean, I was the first to follow this path, which was only glanced at by Ferretus, Alciatus and Vertranius Maurus, rather than trodden. In a word, I have written these commentaries myself, not copied them and I had to make do with what I had, as the saying goes. Besides agreeing with earlier corrections, I also added my own, though without being overambitious in either case [...].

With two well-chosen metaphors he also warned his readers that he had not deemed it necessary to expound on events or details which had already been elucidated at length by other authors, such as Cassius Dio and Suetonius. He had only wanted to hold a torch for others (*praetuli facem*), not to light a lamp in the middle of the day (*mero meridie accendere lucernam*).⁶⁰ Moreover, he had consciously opted for briefness. *Argumenta* were added in the margin of the *commentarius* summing up a somewhat longer note, referring the reader to ancient sources and remarks made by previous Tacitus scholars, or pointing out possible emendations in either Tacitus's *Annales* or in one of the sources quoted.⁶¹ Book II of the *Annales*, for instance, opens with a reference to p. 41 of the text and an annotation dealing with the hostages sent by the Parthian king Phraates to affirm

⁶⁰ In the 1590s he even considered publishing a *Fax historica*, as he usually called it. The initial ambitious project consisted of an exhaustive general commentary to all historical works from antiquity, but was gradually expanding to also editing these authors. Cf., e.g., ILE IV, 91 01 13 M and O, where Lipsius announces his plans to his Antwerp friends Johannes Moretus and Abraham Ortelius. (ILE IV = *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae, pars IV: 1591*, ed. S. Sué and J. De Landtsheer [Brussels: 2012]) In the end, he only realized the sections on warfare, which is, of course, an ever recurring subject in (ancient) historiography: *De militia Romana libri quinque, commentarius ad Polybium. E parte prima Historicae facis* (Antwerp, Joannes Moretus: 1595–1596) on the organization of the Roman army and *Poliorecticōn sive de machinis, tormentis, telis libri quinque. Ad historiarum lucem* (Ibidem, 1596) on the methods, engines, and weapons used when attacking or defending a city or a fortress. A third part, *De triumphis*, on the triumphal processions granted in certain cases to the victorious commanders in chief and their armies, was announced but never finished. Cf. De Landtsheer J., “Justus Lipsius’ *De militia Romana*: Polybius Revived, or How an Ancient Historian was turned into a Manual of Early Modern Warfare”, in K. Enenkel K.A.E. – Jong J.L. de – De Landtsheer J. with collaboration of Montoya A. (eds.), *Recreating Ancient History. Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period. Intersections*, 1 (Leiden-Boston: 2001) 101–122.

⁶¹ These marginal *argumenta* were used up to the (penultimate) 1600 edition.

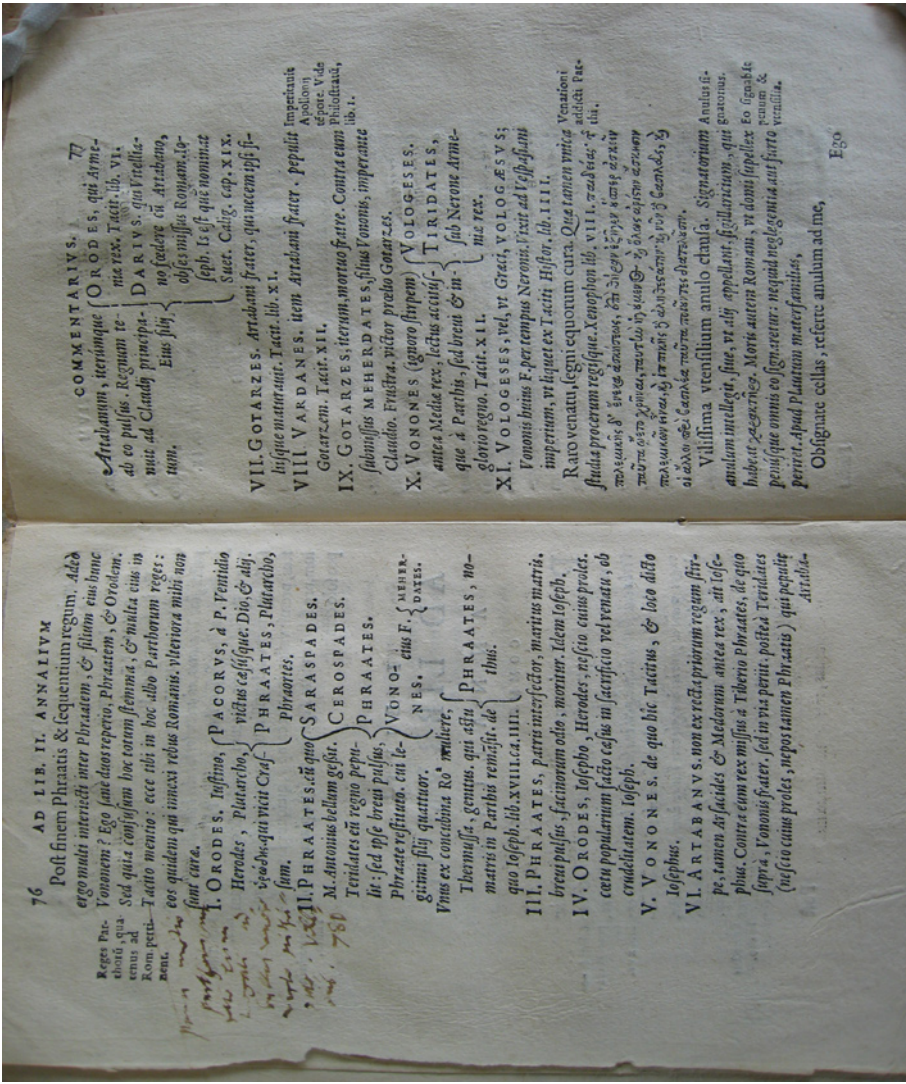


Fig. 6. Genealogical tree of the Parthian kings in *Ad Annales commentarius* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1581) 76–77 (Leiden, University Library, 760 G 9).

his ties with Rome. This is illustrated by a quotation from Strabo (with the source reference in the margin: 'Liberi & nepotes Phraatis. Libro. XVI' and, as Lipsius uses the occasion to correct the Greek geographer, also the warning 'Correctus Strabo'). Next follows an enumeration of eleven Parthian kings, from Orodes up to Vologeses or Vologaesius (summed up in the margin as 'Reges Parthorum, quatenus ad Rom. pertinent'). [Fig. 6] After affirming 'Raro venatu, segni equorum cura' (in the margin summed up as 'Venationi addicti Parthi') by quoting Xenophon, *Cyropaedeia* 8 in Greek, a long note is added explaining the lemma 'Utilissima utensilium anulo clausa' (in the margin summed up as 'Anulus signatorius') with quotations from Plautus, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Cicero, and Clement of Alexandria (the latter quoted in Greek followed by a Latin translation), and completed by a short excursion about the combination of signet rings and keys, examples of which Lipsius had seen unearthed in Holland. This is also the only occasion where a drawing was added to the text.⁶² [Fig. 7] Another, extremely long and almost essay-like note can be found at the end of *Annales* III (p. 90 of the text), expounding on the lemma 'De moderanda [lege] Papia Poppaea',⁶³ where each new step is given in the margin, together with the references to a whole list of ancient authors and lawyers quoted, and numerous emendations to these sources. At the end of the *Commentarius* an exhaustive genealogical tree of the Julian-Claudian house was added on a separate sheet and dedicated to a friend, the Bruges poet Janus Lernutius (1545–1619).⁶⁴ [Fig. 8] By providing his readers with neatly arranged genealogical material (there are other examples as well, but this is the most extensive) Lipsius endorsed a tradition which had become increasingly popular with the historiographers of the sixteenth century. Possible examples were trees in the works of David Chytraeus or Reinerius Reineckius.⁶⁵

Despite Lipsius's promise of briefness, the *Ad Annales liber commentarius*, also in-octavo to match the text edition, counted nearly 500 pages. From the 1581 edition on, the *Annales* will be published first, hence the first

⁶² In later editions I also found the representation of both sides of a coin.

⁶³ Cf. *Annales* III, 28, 4. The *lex Papia Poppaea* was introduced in 9 AD to encourage and strengthen marriage. It included provisions against adultery and celibacy and complemented and supplemented previous laws of Augustus to reestablish Roman marriage.

⁶⁴ The letter is published as ILE VIII, [80 end / early 81]. In the reissues this genealogical tree was reprinted with the page numbers carefully adapted to the new edition.

⁶⁵ See Grafton A., "Method and Madness in the *Ars Historica*", in idem, *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007) 123–188 (esp. 147–163).

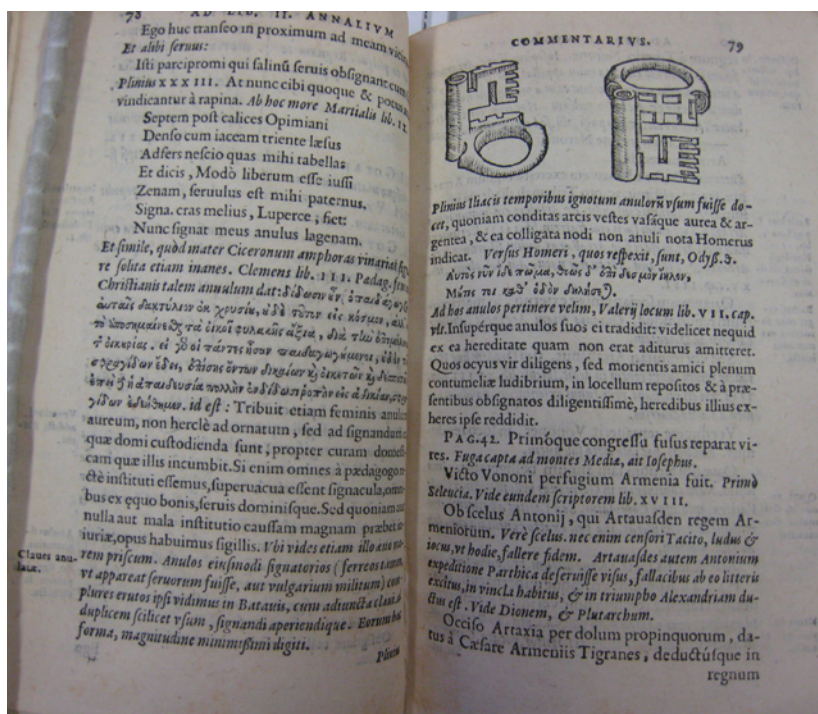


Fig. 7. Woodcut of signet keys, in *Ad Annales commentarius* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1581) 78–79 (Leiden, University Library, 760 G 9).

notes concern the title: the first name of Tacitus, almost literally repeating the first annotation to the first book of the *Historiae* in the 1574 edition, and a remark about the title of the work:

1. *Annalium libri*: Bene Rhenanus qui hanc inscriptionem adserit etiam contra libros. In quibus est Actorum diurnalium vel, ut in Veneto, Actionum diurnalium.

1. *The books of the Annales*: A compliment to Beatus Rhenanus: he added this title, even contrary to the printed books which all have Daily events or Daily activities as in the edition from Venice.

Lipsius further argues that his choice has been determined by Tacitus himself, who time and again refers to his work as the *Annales*, a title also used by Jornandes:

Lucio Pisone consule pauca memoria digna evenere, nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus volumina implere, cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sat res illustres Annalibus, talia diurnis Urbis actis mandare. *Alibi*

Nemo Annales nostros cum scriptura, *itemque* Ni destinatum mihi foret suum quaeque in annum referre. *Jornandes in rebus Gothicis* Cornelium hunc citat Annalium scriptorem.⁶⁶

When Lucius Piso was consul, little occurred deserving mention, unless one would like to fill books by praising the foundations and the beams [...]; whereas it has been sufficiently proved that it suits the dignity of the people of Rome to entrust great achievements to yearbooks and to leave such details to the daily chronicle of the City. *And elsewhere* Nobody must [compare] my *Annales* with the writings, *and also* Unless I had decided to report everything according to its own year. *Jornandes, in his History of the Goths*, refers to our Cornelius, the author of the *Annales*.

A few annotations further he finds a further argument confirming his decision to abandon the until then commonly adopted division of Tacitus's oeuvre in 21 books in favour of a distinction between what in modern editions is always published as the *Annales* and the *Historiae*, an issue he had elaborated on in the "Ad lectorem monitio" of the 1574 edition:

Tiberii Caiique [...] Neronis res. Fines designat intra quos hi libri: quattuor dumtaxat principes. Ut vel hinc liqueat *Historias* seorsum scriptas finemque Annalium fuisse in fine Neronis.⁶⁷

He is indicating the limits within which these books are situated: exactly four emperors. This may also make it clear that the *Historiae* were written separately and that the end of the *Annales* coincided with the end of Nero.

Most of the annotations of the 1574 edition are incorporated in the 1581 commentary; if they merely consisted of a variant reading, they may have been moved to the margins of the text part. As to their formal aspect, often the phrasing is somewhat altered, making the explanation more concise and strictly to the point. Lipsius still disagrees with Rhenanus (and Vertranius Maurus in his wake), but no longer in a condescending way. The aforementioned annotation about Mnester,⁶⁸ for instance, becomes in the 1581 edition:

[p. 284] *domum suam Mnestrus et Poppaeae congressibus.* Veterum editionum lectio Valerii et Poppaeae. Apte sane ad historiam, quia Valerio Asiatico obiectum adulterium Poppaeae, et forte equitibus istis quod interpretes et administri. Libri tamen scripti Nesteris, aut Nestioris. Ex quo Rhenanus

⁶⁶ Cf. *Liber commentarius* (1581) 1–2. Lipsius is quoting *Annales* XIII, 30; IV, 32 and 71 and *Jornandes, De origine actibusque Getarum* II, 13, with the typo *Goticis*, which he corrected in his copy but without taking this correction into account in the later editions.

⁶⁷ It is summed up in the margin as 'Annales Taciti quatenus progressi' ('The extent of Tacitus's *Annales*').

⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, 296. The 1581 version remains unchanged in 1585, 110 and 1607, 166, n. 17.

M. Nestoris, nec recte. Germanum illi pantomimo nomen Mnester, qui in aedibus Crepanicorum Romae

TI[TO] IULIO

AUG[USTI] L[IBERTO]

MNESTERI

Nescio ergo an Poppaeae etiam adulterium obiectum delecti huius mimi in quo et Messalina deperiit. Ceterum haec Poppaea illa est quae cunctas aetatis suae feminas pulchritudine supergressa, gloriam reliquit filiae quae scortum sive uxor Neroni. Quam genuit ex priore marito, T[ito] Ollio.

[p. 284] *his house for the meetings of Mnester and Poppaea*. The reading of the early editions was 'of Valerius and Poppaea'. Surely this agrees very well with the facts, since Valerius Asiaticus was accused of committing adultery with Poppaea, as perhaps also the knights because they acted as his interpreters and servants. Yet the manuscript codices have Nesteris or Nestoris. Hence Rhenanus corrected M. Nestoris, albeit erroneously. The real name of this stage-player is Mnester, who is mentioned in the house of the Crepanicii.

To Titus Iulius

Mnester,

Freedmen of Emperor Claudius,

I do not know whether Poppaea was also accused of having an amorous relation with this favourite pantomime player, who also became the ruin of Messalina. Besides, this Poppaea was that famous woman who surpassed all women of her age in beauty and passed on that reputation to her daughter, who became the whore or wife of Nero. This was the daughter she had with her first husband, Titus Ollius.

On the other hand, he adds further sources to prove his point: the number of references to parallel passages in Tacitus's oeuvre have considerably increased.

Most of the new annotations, indeed, provide further information about numerous aspects of the text: biographical details about descent, marriage, or function may explain personal names, or there may be references to earlier or further occurrences; geographical names are situated; cursory remarks to historical or military events are elaborated on; comparisons with the accounts of other writers are made and discussed . . . In most cases this information is illustrated by often lengthy quotations from a whole plethora of authors: historians (Suetonius, Cassius Dio, Plutarch, Livy and Tacitus himself), geographers (Strabo), encyclopedists (Pliny the Elder, Varro), or epigraphical material, depending on the issue, with occasional translations of Greek quotations. Nevertheless, Lipsius also added the occasional philological remark – either a new emendation or a remark concerning Tacitus's style – and continued to elucidate ambiguous or (seemingly) contradictory passages, as he had done in the 1574 edition.

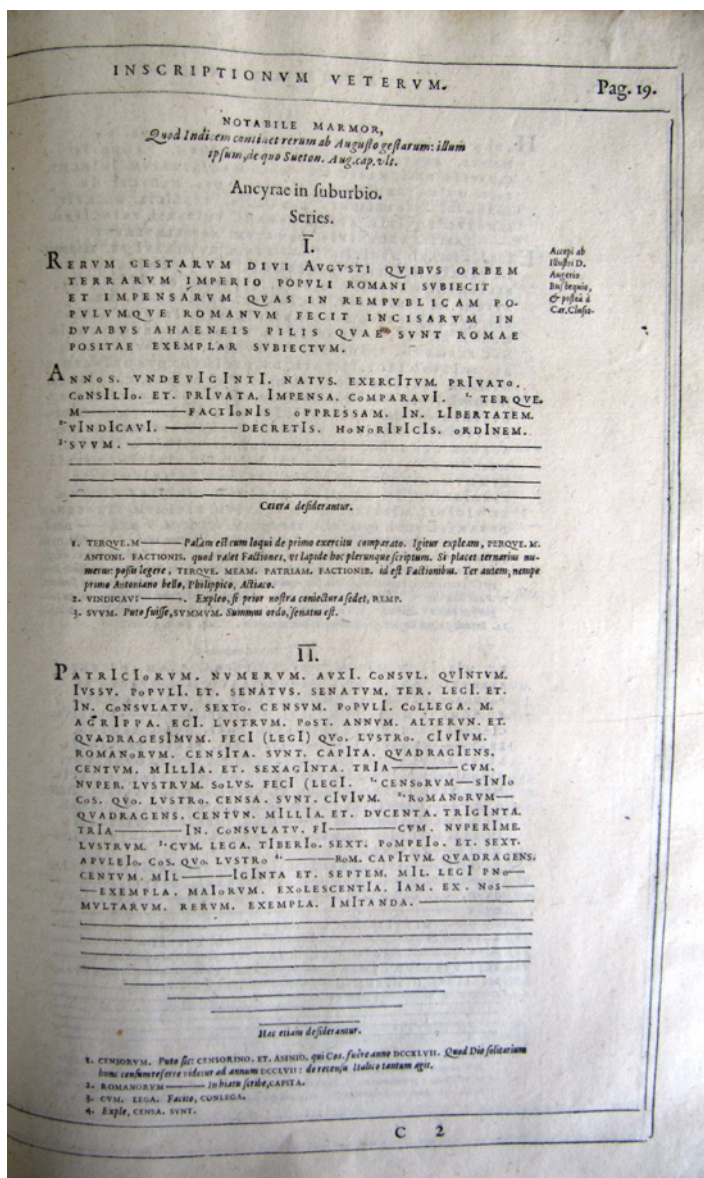


Fig. 9. Opening part of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, in Lipsius's *Auctarium ad Martinum Smetium, Inscriptionum Antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber* [...] (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1588) fol. 19 (Leiden, University Library, 341 A 6).

And of course, the innumerable quotations from other writers incited him also to emendate these texts.

An interesting example can be found at the beginning of *Annales* I, where Tacitus is discussing the first steps in the political career of Augustus' grandsons Gaius and Lucius. A marginal note informs the reader about 'Dionis error sive a lapide dissensio' (an error of Dio or a discrepancy with the epigraphic source'. Lipsius questions the information in Tacitus that the boys had already been granted the title of 'principes iuventutis' ('leaders of the youth') despite their age (even the older boy, Gaius, had not yet reached adulthood). After cursorily mentioning the Greek translation of the title in Zonaras, the humanist adds the inscription of a coin, representing both youngsters and explains its context. This is confirmed by a quotation from Dio, in Greek. Lipsius then points out the discrepancy between Dio, who is speaking of golden spears, whereas 'a stone' mentions silver spears; a lacuna in the inscription is easily solved by combining it with Tacitus and Dio. Lipsius has every confidence in the 'stone' in question, since its text was composed by Augustus himself and can still be seen in Ankara. It is, indeed, a quotation from the famous *Monumentum Ancyranum*, discovered by Augerius Busbequius (1522–1591), who copied it during his sojourn at the sultan's court as ambassador of Emperor Maximilian II. After meeting Lipsius in Vienna in the summer of 1572, Busbequius had kindly provided Lipsius with a copy.⁶⁹ [Fig. 9]

Necdum posita puerili praetexta, principes iuventutis appellari. Ridiculum ut principes iuventutis sint qui etiam in pueris. Natus autem Caius anno urbis DCCXXXIV Sexto Appuleio Publio Silio consulibus. At Lucius biennio toto minor ex Dione LV in actis eius anni. Princeps iuventutis (προκρίτους τῆς νεότητος Zonaras hic reddidit) ab Augusto invaluit ad futurum imperium titulus et omen. Sunt nummi cum inscriptione C[AIUS] L[UCIUS] CAESARES AUGUSTI F[ILII] CO[N]S[ULES] DES[IGNATI] PRINC[IPES] IUVENT[UTIS], adpositae effigies Caii Lucique cum clypeis et hastis.⁷⁰ Quae tirocinii die equites dederant honoris Augusti caussa. Dio: καὶ αἱ πέλος τότε δόρατα, ἃ

⁶⁹ Later, Lipsius received a second copy, from another correspondent from Vienna, the botanist Carolus Clusius, who had been given a copy by two other diplomats. Lipsius published the text in his *Auctarium*, 19–22, under the heading 'Notabile marmor quod indicem continet rerum ab Augusto gestarum' ('A remarkable marble stone containing a survey of Augustus' feats'). In the margin he specified: 'Accepi ab illustri D[omino] Augerio Busbequio et postea a Carolo Clusio' ('I received it from the illustrious Lord Augerius Busbequius and afterwards from Carolus Clusius'). There are only slight differences between both versions. The *Auctarium* was published as part of *M[artini] Smetii Inscriptionum Antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber*. [...] *Accessit Auctarium a Iusto Lipsio* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1588).

⁷⁰ They are called 'filii' because they had been adopted by Augustus, who had no son and heir of his own.

παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσιόντες χρυσᾶ εἰλήφεσαν, εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνετέθη. *Observe Dionem aureas hastas dicere, quas lapis (magnae apud me fidei, ut quem vivus conceperit Augustus ipse) qui Ancyrae, argenteas. Verba sunt, uti ad me missa beneficio viri illustris Augerii Busbequii: EQUITES AUTEM ROMANI UNIVERSI PRINCIPEM [...] HASTIS ARGENTEIS DONATUM APPELLAVERUNT, quam lacunam rite expleveris Principem iuvent<utis> Caium.*⁷¹

To illustrate the evolution in the commentary I have compared various versions of the notorious episode of the burning of Rome during Nero's reign in *Annales* XV, 38–44. The 1574 edition, 745–746 has eight annotations and except for the seventh, they all give variant readings or caution that the text is either obscure or corrupt. The 1581 edition, 451–456, on the other hand, has 22 annotations for this episode, excluding two of the 1574 annotations, which have been incorporated in the margin of the text. The third annotation of 1574, about other fires of long duration, has been reduced to what was the conclusion of 1574. The seventh annotation in 1574, 'In usum nocturnae luminis' is extended with the remark that it was the first violent repression of the Christians, confirmed by quoting Tertullian; the last annotation in 1574, 'Permixtus plebe vel circulo insistsens', merely stressing the need to emendate 'circulo' in 'curriculo', is augmented by references to Pliny the Elder and his nephew. Most of the additional annotations are much longer, except for the one about the buildings on the *campus Martius*, where Lipsius contents himself with a mere reference to Cassius Dio and the book number. There are several references to ancient writers on topography, Publius Victor among them, but also encyclopaedic information based on Pliny the Elder and Isidore of Seville, the latter about the imperviousness of 'Sabinian' stone, which is corrected into 'Gabinian'. Lipsius further points out the discrepancy about the length of the fire in Tacitus, Suetonius, and an ancient inscription near St Peter's, which he then solves; he discusses the variant 'Chrestianus' for 'Christianus' with quotations from the Suda, Arrian, and Suetonius, and marginal references to Tertullian and Lactantius. Perhaps the most interesting, and also the longest annotation is the one about the temple of Luna: Livy and Rufus are called upon to prove the existence of such a temple on the Aventine, but Lipsius immediately adds that Sol and Luna were surely not venerated during the first centuries of Rome, as is suggested by 'vetustissima'. Hence his suggestion to emend 'Lunae' into 'Luae', a goddess whose cult already existed in those early times, which he proves with two

⁷¹ *Liber Commentarius* 6–7, with a reference to p. 6 of the text part.

quotations from Livy. After attributing the merits of this emendation to the French humanist Adrianus Turnebus (1512–1565), he explains that Lua was the goddess of fortunate sacrifice and atonement, with a reference to an etymological remark by Varro.

Vetustissima [...] Lunae. Templum Lunae in Aventino reperto apud Liv. XL [quotation of Livy, *Ab urbe condita* XL, 2] et Rufus in regione XII ‘Templum Lunae in Aventino magnum’. Sed ausim ego in Livio Tacitoque et Rufo rescribere Luae non Lunae. Luna et Sol inter priscos non sunt Romanorum deos, nec culti temporibus regum. At est Lua mater et eius religio antiqua. Livius lib[ro] VIII [quotation of Livy, *Ab urbe condita* VIII, 1]. Lib. XLV [quotation of XLV, 33]. Ita enim eum locum emendatum magno Turnebo debemus. Lua autem dea litationum, opinor, expiationumque, a luendo. Varro: ‘Habes qui et cuius rei caussa fecerim Hecatomben, in quo ego, ut puto, quoniam est luere, solvere lutavi’.⁷² Ubi acute et ambigue ludit in verbo solvendi.

2.3. *Towards a definitive Commentarius and Notae in the Editions between 1585–1607*

After the publication of the 1581 edition and commentary Lipsius kept working steadily on the still expected annotations to the *Historiae* and the *Opera minora*. Plantin succeeded in having the reissue of the text and the completed annotations available at the September book fair of Frankfurt 1584, although the title page bears the year 1585 for commercial reasons.⁷³ [Fig. 10] This time an in-folio format was chosen; the text part was followed by the *Liber commentarius* and the part with the revised annotations to the other works, entitled *Ad libros Historiarum notae* (also including the *opera minora*), each with its own title page.⁷⁴ As mentioned before, Lipsius would always maintain this distinction between *Liber commentarius* for the *Annales* and *Notae* for the other works, because the latter part still consisted mainly of text-critical remarks and it was considerably shorter

⁷² Cf. Varro apud Nonium Marcellum, 131, 19–21.

⁷³ Tacitus, *Opera quae exstant ex Iusti Lipsi editione ultima et cum eiusdem ad ea omnia Commentariis aut Notis* (Leiden, Christopher Plantin: 1585). Plantin, who dreaded the impending siege of Antwerp by Alexander Farnese, and wanted to ensure the continuation of at least part of the *Officina Plantiniana*, had accepted Lipsius’s invitation to establish a printing press in Leiden. He left the city a few weeks before Farnese took action and entrusted the Antwerp branch to his sons-in-law, the Protestant Franciscus Raphelengius and the Catholic Joannes Moretus.

⁷⁴ From this 1585 edition on, the layout of the annotations was again improved: the lemma was set in a slightly larger letter size and closed by a bracket; each lemma was preceded by an indent. In the 1607 edition, consulting the annotations became even more convenient, as we will see.

too. A comparison between the number of annotations of some books, selected at random in the various editions makes this clear:⁷⁵

	1574	1581	1585	1589	1607
<i>Ann.</i> I	40	187	192	203	273
<i>Ann.</i> III	29	138	140	146	179
<i>Ann.</i> XV	57	123	127	139	179
<i>Hist.</i> II	78	/	82	106	122

The “Ad lectorem” of the text part of 1585 opens with the statement that it will be the final revision: ‘En tibi, Lector, tertiam editionem Taciti nostri, et ni fallor, postremam’ (‘Here, dear reader, you have the third edition of our Tacitus and, if I am not mistaken, it will be the last one’). After enumerating the sources that he had consulted in Rome for the first edition, Lipsius explains that in the course of the years friends and colleagues kept sending variant readings and remarks to him. First, there was a manuscript owned by the Spanish lawyer Antonio de Covarruvias (1554–1602) in Toledo, read and collated by Andreas Schott (1562–1629), a friend from Lipsius’s student days in Leuven, who had also added some extra information for his commentary. This material would be referred to as *Hispanus* or *Covarruviae*, although it was seldom used because it arrived rather late, when the new edition was already on its way, and also because it was less interesting than expected.

Accessere nunc alia ab amicis. Manuscriptum exemplar, meo nomine et gratia in Hispaniis Toleti legit et cum vulgatis composuit Andreas Schottus, optimus doctissimusque vir: qui excerpta ad me misit et notas. Id exemplar est in bibliotheca viri illustris Antonii Covarruviae Leiva, cuius insigni doctrinae et disertae in scribendo elegantiae verum et sine fraude testimonium reddo. Id exemplar in citando alias Hispanum, alias Covarruviae nomino: minus tamen saepe auxilio eius usus, quia et tarde ad me venit plerisque istis iam perfectis, et ut rem dicam, non optimae nota.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ I have already included the later editions of some importance, omitting the smaller and cheaper fifth edition (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1588) intended for students and focusing entirely on the text, with an abundance of marginal remarks, but without a separate part of annotations. Nor have I taken into account the sixth edition (Antwerp, Joannes Moretus: 1600), published without too many changes.

⁷⁶ Cf. 1585 edition, “Ad lectorem”, fol. 2r.

More useful were the notes received from Franciscus Modius, who during a stay with Erasmus Neustetter (Sturmer), had discovered a copy of the Venice edition of 1470, profusely annotated by a humanist of an earlier period, Rudolphus Agricola (1444–1485). Time and again Lipsius referred to these notes, mostly with the indication *Rudolphus noster*, although he usually contented himself with pointing out Agricola's emendations without following them too closely, 'for', as he explained, 'many of them seem to me too daring and too free, and they often stray too far from the manuscripts.' In his eyes, they were the product of a subtle and ingenious mind, rather than corrections leading to the original text. Moreover, Modius had also collated a manuscript from Bamberg belonging to his patron, but this only contained the *Germania*.⁷⁷

In the meantime fellow humanists kept collating Lipsius's edition with manuscripts or early editions in their libraries and sent variant readings or supplementary information to be added to the commentary. Hieronymus van Berchem, a friend of Lipsius's student days in Leuven, had conveyed a series of philological remarks he had received from Janus Mellerus Palmerius, a humanist who had his roots in Bruges.⁷⁸ Palmerius's annotations can still be found in Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 5. [Fig. 11] The French humanist Josias Mercier (ca. 1560–1626), for instance, sent a first list, based on the 1574 edition, together with ILE I, 81 o3 19.⁷⁹ A second list, not preserved but presumably based on the second edition, is referred to in the commentary of the 1585 edition. This latter edition would become the basis for a third list, also preserved in Leiden, University Library,

⁷⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, fol. 2r–v: 'Aliud item mihi auxilium a politissimo et doctissimo Francisco Modio. Qui dum in Germania agit apud insignem litteratorum patronum Erasmum Neustatterum, cognomento Sturmerum (virum genere et dignitate inter primos) nactus exemplar quoddam est manu Rodolphi Agricolae adnotatum: quod usui nobis fuit, ut videbis. Multa enim eruditus ille vir observarat, et ad margines libri sui rettulerat, sed ita ut iure ambigas prompta ea e vetustioribus libris sint, an ab ipso. Multa enim agnosco audacius et licentius inventa, et longius a verbis aberrantia: quae videantur mihi a subtilis ingenii fonte. Quaedam etiam eiusmodi, quae etsi non a libris, commendent se tamen lectori audacia quadam verecunda. Sed idem ille noster Modius etiam Romanam editionem veterem comparavit cum vulgata: eaque multis locis vera, aut dux nobis ad veritatem. Denique idem etiam codicem manuscriptum Bambergae allatum, quem Amplissimus Neustetterus emit. Sed qui nihil praeter Germaniam Taciti haberet, e quo ipso non optimo tamen locos aliquot correxisse videmur non laeve'.

⁷⁸ Cf. an overlooked letter to Janus Doussa Sr, dated 11 May [1583], edited in Deneire and De Landtsheer, '*Lipsiana* in the Waller Manuscript Collection', 221–224.

⁷⁹ The list is still preserved in Leiden University Library, in ms. BPL 1886.

ms. BPL 1886, and was sent together with ILE II, 87 11 20.⁸⁰ It was used in the *Ad Caium Cornelium Tacitum Curae Secundae* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1588), a sequel to the commentary part. In its dedicatory letter he informed his readers that he had extended or corrected a number of the annotations in the previous editions and supplemented new ones as well. Moreover, he had also explained, confirmed or revoked some of his own annotations.⁸¹ A considerable part of the new material in the *Curae secundae* was gathered from a copy of the 1585 edition still preserved at Leiden, University Library, shelf number 762 B 4. The innumerable annotations Lipsius scribbled in the margins of this fascinating document – full quotations or mere references to possible extra sources for his commentary – show how the humanist never tired of his quest for extra information.

It can be readily accepted that the main reason for the 1589 edition was the incorporation of the additional commentary from the *Curae secundae* in the already existing *Liber commentarius* or *Notae*. Nevertheless, Lipsius preferred to alert the reader by using an asterisk whenever the information provided by the *Curae secundae* did not easily fit in with the already existing commentary, because he wanted to point out his doubts, to change, to affirm or to refute what he had previously said.⁸² Two examples will make this clear. In the first one, discussing ‘Remisit Caesar, adroganti moderatione’ (*Annales* I, 8,7) Lipsius had been inclined to read *permittere* instead of *remittere*, according to the 1585 edition. Afterwards, however, his friend and correspondent, the French lawyer Jacobus Cuiacius (1522–1590) had convinced him that *remittere* was used in the sense of *permittere* as well. In the second example, explaining the lemma ‘Nuptiis sororis illectum’ (‘lured by marriage with

⁸⁰ Cf. Devillers O., “Josias Mercier, commentateur des *Annales* de Tacite”, in F. Rodaut, *Jean (c. 1525–1570) et Josias (c. 1560–1626) Mercier. L’amour de la philologie à la Renaissance et au début de l’âge classique* (Paris: 2006) 235–249 (ILE II refers to *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae, pars II: 1594–1587*, ed. M.A. Nauwelaerts and S. Sué [Brussels: 1983]).

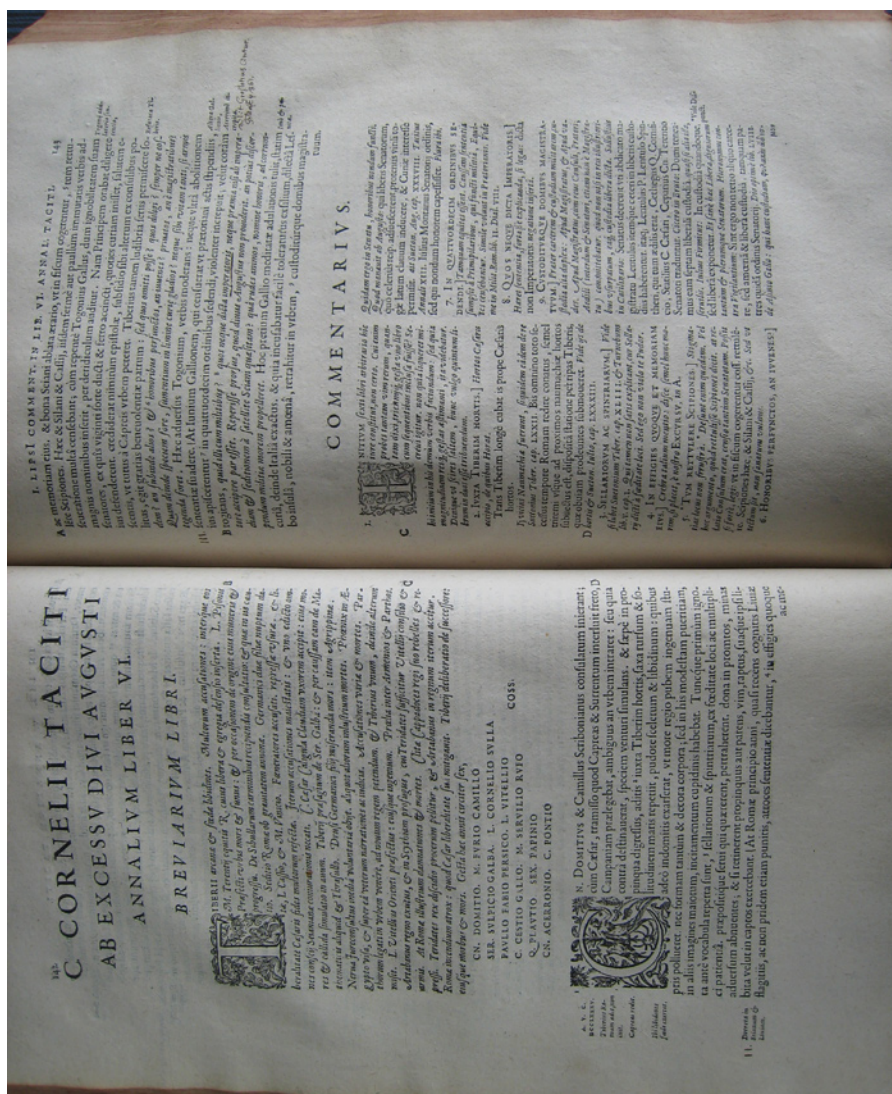
⁸¹ See the dedicatory letter, fol. *2: ‘Notae aliquot meliores, quas olim cum plenum illum meum Commentarium dedi, aut non vidi, aut paullo sequius vidi. Multa enim interea propria lectio et dies me docuit, nonnihil aliorum suggestio; quibus gratiam retuli, cuique in suo loco. Sed et quaedam priora mea aut explicavi, aut firmavi, aut etiam (nec pudet) recantavi’.

⁸² Cf. “Monitio ad Lectorem”, fol. [**4]r: ‘Ceterum, universe Commentarium istum plenior melioremque aliis scito: cui inseruimus e CURIS SECUNDIS, suis quaeque locis. Quod si quid in iis tale, quod cohaerere cum priori Nota parum apte posset (puta, siquid ambigerem, mutarem, firmarem, refellerem) haec sub ipsam Notam disiunctim paullum subtexti iussimus cum signo isto * quod moneat te illud adtextum esse e posterioribus CURIS’.

his sister'), Lipsius suggests two emendations to a quotation of Seneca the Elder and also draws his readers' attention that Seneca and Cassius Dio are contradicting each other on this occasion. Moreover, a lacuna in his text of Seneca the Elder, which in his edition was indicated by a series of dots, is complemented in the margin by a quotation in Greek, which was sent to him by Andreas Schott. Finally, in the *Curae secundae* he returns to one of his emendations to Seneca the Elder, about the combination *Minerva Musa*, acknowledging that Janus Grotius, the father of the famous Hugo, had solved the problem for him and that one should, indeed, keep the text as it was.

Only in the final, seventh edition, also an in-folio, published posthumously by Plantin's successor in Antwerp, Joannes Moretus, in 1607, text and matching annotations were brought together on the same page, much to the reader's convenience.⁸³ In this 1607 edition, Lipsius had taken into account an extensive collection of annotations published by the Italian humanist Curtius Pichena (1553–1626), secretary to the Grand Duke of Florence. The Italian had examined the manuscripts in the Laurentiana, which Lipsius had never directly consulted, with painstaking care and discovered a number of errors, which had escaped his predecessor's attention. As pointed out by Ruyschaert, Lipsius incorporated almost half of the variant readings Pichena offered for books I–VI of the *Annales*, and one fifth only for the remaining part, but this explains the sudden increase of annotations in the survey above (p. 315). [Fig. 12] The text was set in one block, with small numerals in superscript before a word referring the reader to the annotations divided into two columns on the second half of the page. Because of the new layout, the somewhat longer, essay-like historical annotations were withdrawn and gathered in a separate section at the end of the edition, entitled *Excursus*, divided into the corresponding books and indicated by letters. In the commentary at the bottom of the page the reader was referred to the appropriate letter in these excursions. Almost all of them are situated in the *Annales*; there is only one to *Histories* III and another one to the *Germania*. Excursions F and G to *Annales* I (text p. 16), for instance, discuss the origins and the development of the

⁸³ *Ad Cornelii Taciti Opera Notae, iuxta veterrimorum exemplarium collationem* ([Frankfurt], Heirs of A. Wechel, C. de Marne and J. Aubry: 1600). The catalogue of Lipsius's library only mentions a copy of the second edition: 'Curtius Pichena, in *Tacitum*, 8, Hanoviae, 1604', cf. Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 59, fol. 11v, book 28. *Juste Lipse et les Annales de Tacite* 138–143. For books I–VI of the *Annales* 25 out of 57 variants were used, whereas for books XI–XVI Lipsius only kept 43 variants out of 221. Nevertheless, many of the ones he rejected made good sense.



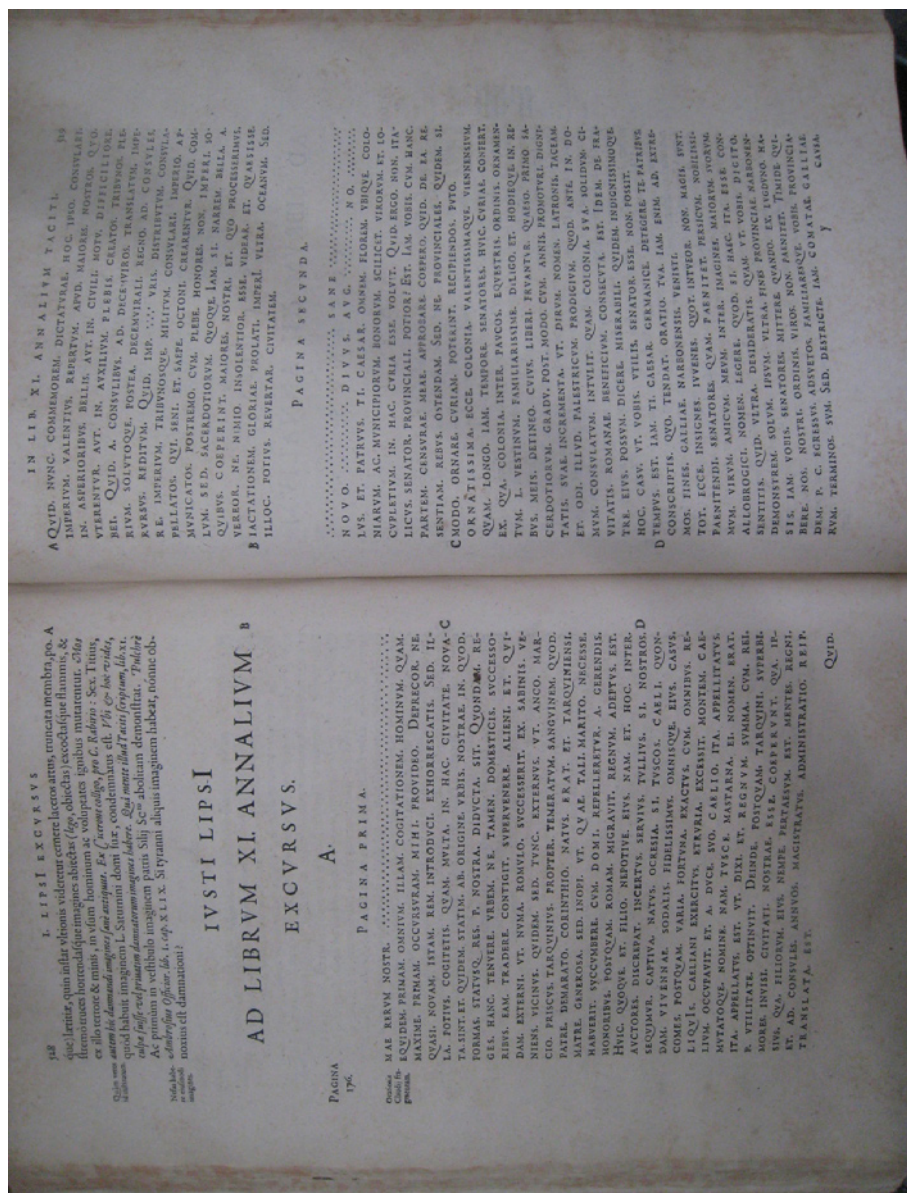


Fig. 13. *Excursus A of Annales XI* in the 1607 edition (Antwerp, Joannes Moretus) 528–529 (Leiden, University Library, 762 B 5).

soldiers' pay; K (text p. 20) expounds on the census. Excursions A and B of *Annales* II (text p. 42) give the genealogical tree of the Parthian kings in as far as they are connected with the Romans and dwell on the use of signet rings and keys. The essay on the *lex Papia Poppaea* in *Annales* III has become excursion C and excursion A of *Annales* XI (text p. 176) reproduces the inscription containing a fragment of the oration held by Emperor Claudius on his visit to Lyons, where he was born.⁸⁴ [Fig. 13] But all these longer annotations in the *Annales* can already be found in the *Commentarius* from 1581.

Usually the text of the already extant annotations remains the same as in the previous editions or only slight changes were made. The already mentioned annotation about Nero's plans to do away with his wife Octavia from the 1574 edition

21, l. 16. *Octaviam uxorem amoliretur*. Hac dictione in eandem rem usus est Tacit[us], lib[ro] XIV et sic libri m[anu]s[cripti] referebant. Rhenano aliter visum est.⁸⁵

21, l. 16. *Until he could rid himself of his wife Octavia*. Tacitus used this expression about the same issue in book XIV [of the *Annales*] and that is what you find in the manuscript codices. Rhenanus has a different opinion.

is somewhat adapted by inserting a reference to Covarruvias's manuscript, but is the same in the 1585 and the 1607 edition:

Octaviam uxorem amoliretur. Iisdem in hanc rem verbis usus est libro XIV Annalium et sic mei libri. Covarruviae tamen codex et Budensis 'Octavia uxor amoveretur'. Quod rectum aequē.⁸⁶

In another example the phrasing is somewhat altered, without changing the content:

20, l. 31. *Eodem actu invisior erat*. Ne Di sirint ut vera sit haec lectio, nisi placet Tacitum manifesto βαρβαρίζειν. Actu enim invisum esse nemo proletarius scriptor dixerit, nedum iste noster Assiduus. Ego illud 'actu' delendum iudico ut imperiti nebulonis glossema et Taciti scripsisse 'quanto potentior,

⁸⁴ On this occasion the inhabitants were granted the citizenship of Rome. The inscription, in bronze, is preserved in the archeological museum of Lyons.

⁸⁵ Cf. the 1574 edition, 650 with a reference to *Annales* XIV, 59: 'maturare parat Octaviamque coniugem amoliri'.

⁸⁶ Cf. 1585 *Notae ad Historias*, 2 (with a reference to the text on p. 143) and 1607, 311, n. 47.

eodem inuisor erat'. Vel potius 'eadem', quomodo Plautus sexcenties locutus deprehenditur.⁸⁷

20, l. 31. May the gods not allow that this is the true reading, unless they want Tacitus to be manifestly using barbaric language. For no second-rate author would speak like this, and by no means the first class writer that is our Tacitus. I believe this 'actu' should be deleted as the explanation of an ignorant fool and that Tacitus wrote: 'the mightier he became, the more he was hated', or rather 'in a similar way', as Plautus can be caught saying hundreds of times.

In the 1585 version this becomes:

Eodem actu inuisor. Quid est illud 'actu inuisum esse'? Ineptiae, sermo parum non dicam lautus, sed Latinus. Scribebam sublata ea voce 'eadem inuisor erat'. Genus sermonis notum vel ex uno Plauto. Non male etiam 'fastu inuisor', qui sane fastus comitari potentiam fere solet et hunc odium.

In the course of the years, Lipsius must have come upon a suggestion made by one of his correspondents, Jacobus Lectius, for in the 1607 edition the last sentence is changed as follows:

Eodem actu inuisor. Quid est illud 'actu inuisum esse'? Ineptiae, sermo parum non dicam lautus, sed Latinus. Scribebam sublata ea voce 'eadem inuisor erat'. Genus sermonis notum vel ex uno Plauto. Placuit Iac[obi] Lectii, eruditi viri, coniectura 'eodem auctu', nunc mea ista, 'eo dein fastu inuisor'.⁸⁸

Apart from the numerous additional annotations referring to Pichena's edition, Lipsius will sometimes insert an extra annotation. The following example probably occurred to him while he was working on his *Politica*,⁸⁹ which was published a few months after the 1589 edition appeared. A quotation from Aristoteles, both in Greek and in translation, leads Lipsius to a rare, personal intervention: a complaint about the corruption among the leading politicians of his time:

Othonem exstimulabant luxuria. Verae hae mutationum caussae et prudenter Aristoteles eas ingerit *Polit.* V [quotation of the Greek text] 'Fiunt mutationes cum per luxum sua prodigunt. Tales enim innovare omnia stu-

⁸⁷ Cf. the 1574 edition, 1574, 650.

⁸⁸ Cf. the 1585 edition, *Notae ad Historias* 2 (corresponding to the text on p. 143) and the 1607 edition, 311, n. 44 respectively.

⁸⁹ Or with its full title *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex. Qui ad principatum maxime spectant* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1589).

dent et aut sibi tyrannidem aut alteri parare.' O veriloquium, quod utinam principes imbibant et corruptissimis hodie moribus advertant!⁹⁰

Otho was incited by luxury. These were the true reasons for the changes and Aristotle wisely lashes out against them: 'Changes happen when they are squandering their possessions through luxury. Such men intend to change everything and acquire absolute power for themselves or for another.' Word of thruth, which I hope the sovereigns will imbibe and apply against the corrupted behaviour of today.

Conclusion

The successive editions of Tacitus's collected works and their commentary certainly earned Lipsius his star on the humanists' Walk of Fame. When preparing the *editio princeps* he obviously concentrated his research on establishing as clear a text as possible, while the annotations primarily focused on the philological aspects of the text, along the lines of the first works he published. Yet from the second edition on, Lipsius devoted himself to offering his readership all possible help to fully understand the text and its veiled meaning. In doing so, he could count on the help of a number of colleagues abroad who collated interesting manuscripts of annotated editions with his own text and also made useful suggestions for the commentary. But the most important asset was, of course, Lipsius's own knack with the classical languages in general and of Tacitus's idiom and style in particular, his familiarity with the whole range of ancient and later authors, and his encyclopaedic knowledge of the world of antiquity. Hence the commentary kept increasing, both as to the number and the length of the annotations, and already extant annotations were often rephrased in view of the next edition. It is also striking that Lipsius often used information gathered from epigraphic sources and occasionally also mentioned inscriptions on coins, but that he did not consider illustrating some of his annotations by representing them. Yet this would not have been very hard to do, since apart from the already existing well-illustrated treatises on coins, some of his Antwerp friends were eager collectors of coins and would willingly have helped him find whatever illustration he wanted. I rather see this contribution as some kind of prospectus and I am convinced that a thorough, comparative study of the annotations to

⁹⁰ Cf. the 1607 edition, 314, n. 62. In the text, more subjects (all vices) are following, hence the plural of the verb in the lemma and the plural of the explanation.

whichever book of Tacitus's major works and of the sources Lipsius used to it will be most relevant to better understand his fascination for Tacitus on the one hand and, more generally, the way humanists proceeded to compose their erudite works in a world in which books were still not always easy to acquire and with hardly any auxiliary tools.

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NATURAL HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

THE SURVIVAL OF PLINY IN PADUA.
TRANSFORMING CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP DURING
THE BOTANICAL RENAISSANCE*

Susanna de Beer

SUMMARY

In the past few decades we have learned that despite the remarkable innovations in Renaissance medical botany, the role of ancient texts was by no means played out. On the contrary, they appear to have played a crucial role in the development of the new discipline and its methods. At the same time scholars with botanical expertise started to challenge, correct and supplement the ancient botanical texts with new knowledge. However, we still do not know exactly how this transformation of classical scholarship worked in practice, which roles disappeared and which remained. This article gives a first answer to these questions by tracing the changed attitudes to reading ancient botanical texts in a number of humanist commentaries on Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* and Dioscorides's *De materia medica*. It is argued that the role of ancient texts was transformed in such a way that it could still meet the requirements of the botanical discipline, its practitioners and its beneficiaries, by providing the organizational principle of botanical knowledge and lending authorization to medical botany as an autonomous discipline in general, and to the related scholarly competences and commercial benefits in particular.

Introduction

In 1571 Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì held a lecture at the University of Padua, where he occupied the chair of practical medicine. The subject was “de modo studendi”, translated in this case as: “how to study medicine”.¹

* This article was written as part of the research program *The New Management of Knowledge in the Early Modern Period: The Transmission of Classical Latin Literature via Neo-Latin Commentaries*, directed by Karl Enenkel, and funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

¹ The lecture is edited, translated and introduced by Durling R.J., “Girolamo Mercuriale's *De modo studendi*”, in McVaugh M.R. – Siraisi N.C. (eds.), *Renaissance Medical Learning: Evolution of a Tradition*, Osiris, 2nd series, vol. VI (Philadelphia: 1990) 181–195. For Mercuriale see also Siraisi N.G., “Medicina Practica: Girolamo Mercuriale as Teacher and Textbook Author”, in Campi E. – De Angelis S. – Goeing A.-S. – Grafton A.T. (eds.),

In this lecture Mercuriale advises the students of medicine how best to organize their studies. Apart from the ideal conditions regarding their physique, intellect and commitment, students are presented with a list of the most outstanding medical authors, Latin, Arabic and Greek, from which they should read. From this list the most important authors that should always be at hand, are Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus and Avicenna. Students should read these ancient authorities regularly, preferably without commentaries, and make notes in their *promptuaria* or *thesauri*. If the ancient texts happen to disagree on a certain issue, the students should determine for themselves which account they believe is most truthful.

As Richard Durling notes, at first sight there is nothing extraordinary about the message of this lecture, which is in line with the humanists' adagium to go back to the ancient texts themselves and which recommends the common practice of note taking.² However, when we realize *when* and *where* this lecture was held, something startling is apparent. For in this period the University of Padua was celebrated and attractive to many medical students primarily because of the dissections practiced in the anatomical theatre, and because of Melchior Guilandino's lectures in medical botany, taught in the botanical garden.³ This garden opened in 1545 and was the first and most famous of the botanical gardens that were established as part of the universities, first in Northern Italy and later throughout Europe.⁴ Besides studying and cultivating plants in these gardens, botanical scholars also made field trips, collected dried plants in "herbaria", and collected all other kinds of *naturalia* in their "cabinets of curiosities".⁵

These new developments are traditionally regarded as essential elements in the medical Renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe (Geneva: 2008) 287–305, and Siraisi N.G., "History, Antiquarianism, and Medicine: The Case of Girolamo Mercuriale", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2003) 231–251.

² Durling, "Girolamo Mercuriale" 185. For the practice of note taking as an instrument of learning see Blair A., *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: 2010) 62–116.

³ See Bylebyl J.J., "The School of Padua: Humanistic Medicine in the Sixteenth Century", in Webster C. (ed.), *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1979) 335–370.

⁴ Minelli A. (ed.), *The Botanical Garden of Padua 1545–1995* (Venice: 1995).

⁵ For this practice see Findlen P., *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: 1994). See also the collected essays by Stannard J., *Herbs and Herbalism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by K.E. Stannard – R. Kay (Aldershot: 1999).

during which experimental medicine was incorporated into the study of medicine on the basis of ancient texts.⁶ Nevertheless Girolamo Mercuriale in his treatise makes no mention whatsoever of these remarkable innovations. One way to explain this silence is to distinguish between the different branches of the medical discipline. Girolamo Mercuriale was employed in practical medicine, a part of the curriculum that – in contradiction to what the name would suggest – was based solely on the readings of authoritative ancient texts. Guilandino's teachings on botany, on the other hand, belonged to the field of medicinal practice, a branch that was traditionally regarded as separated from and less esteemed than the teachings in theoretical and practical medicine. Thus, in theory the botanical innovations did not directly affect the part of the curriculum Mercuriale describes in his treatise.

In practice, however, it seems that the innovative field of medical botany did in fact pose a threat to the traditional field of medicine – first, because these innovative scholarly practices were very popular and attracted many students. This situation contributed to the establishment of new professorships in medical botany, with a growing status and salary that ultimately could match the traditionally more esteemed professorships of theoretical and practical medicine.⁷ Moreover, because it presented a new way of dealing with ancient texts, it compelled the traditional scholars to rethink their relationship with the ancient authorities as well. Mercuriale's silence about the innovative practices at his university might, therefore, just as easily be explained by the competition with colleagues like Guilandino.

These innovations were originally introduced as a means better to understand and explain the traditional authoritative classical texts.⁸ Under the

⁶ For a good general introduction into these developments see a.o. Cook H.J., "Medicine", in Lindberg D.C. – Numbers R.L. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science* (Cambridge: 2003–) vol. III; Park – Daston (eds.), *Early Modern Science* 407–434; Findlen, "Natural History", in eadem 435–468, and Ogilvie B.W., *The Science of Describing. Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: 2008). For the developments within medical botany in particular see Palmer R., "Medical Botany in Northern Italy in the Renaissance", *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 78 (1985) 149–157.

⁷ For this changed status of medical botany within the medical curriculum see Grendler P.F., *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: 2002) 342–352 and Reeds K.M., *Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (New York: 1991). See also Findlen P., "The Formation of a Scientific Community: Natural History in Sixteenth-Century Italy", in Grafton A.T. – Siraisi N.G. (eds.), *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, MA: 1999) 369–400. Findlen's essay deals with the emergence of natural history as a discipline from the perspective of community formation.

⁸ Palmer, "Medical Botany" 154.

influence of humanist scholarship the ancient medical and botanical texts were studied with new and more critical eyes, in order to produce new text editions and a more correct basis for the study and practice of medicine. This process, however, brought to light some serious problems, caused by the corrupted state of many of these texts, and as a consequence, the difficulty of identifying the plants mentioned in ancient texts in nature. At times this led to very dangerous situations, when through incorrect identifications poisonous plants led to the death of patients. Apart from a thorough study of all the available manuscripts and comparisons with other ancient texts on the same matter, it was thought that observation of nature would help identify the plants mentioned and thus the practical applicability of the ancient texts.

Thus in the fast-changing field of medical botany the role of the ancient authorities was by no means played out immediately. They even were of crucial importance in the development and legitimization of these innovative practices, as has been observed by several scholars in this field.⁹ The ancient body of botanical knowledge formed an ideal starting point for botanical study. Moreover the ancient texts themselves encouraged observation as a tool for gaining knowledge. Eventually however, these practices facilitated the challenge of the same ancient authorities they sought to confirm, as Karen Reeds clearly points out in her seminal article.¹⁰ From pure veneration scholars came to acknowledge that the ancients were not omniscient, and from including their discoveries in text editions and commentaries they started to experiment with new kinds of publications.

However, we still do not know exactly how this transformation of classical scholarship worked in practice, which roles remained, which disappeared and which were newly developed, and whether this was alike in all contexts. This article gives a first answer to these questions by analyzing the changed attitudes towards reading ancient botanical texts in relation to early modern knowledge and practices. In order to do so it will first be determined which challenges were put to the ancient botanical texts and how these relate to the innovations within the discipline. Subsequently

⁹ See especially Reeds K.M., "Renaissance Humanism and Botany", *Annals of Science* 33 (1976) 519–542, Findlen, "The Formation", and Palmer, "Medical Botany". A similar development can be seen in early modern geography, as described in Grafton A.T. – Shelford A. – Siraisi N.G. (eds.), *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA – London: 1992).

¹⁰ Reeds, "Renaissance Humanism" 540.

it will be specified which roles the ancient texts retained and which new roles they assumed. This article will argue that the role of ancient texts was transformed in such a way that it could still meet the requirements of the botanical discipline, its practitioners and its beneficiaries, by providing the organizational principle of botanical knowledge and authorizing medical botany as an autonomous discipline.

This transformation of classical scholarship will be traced in a number of humanist commentaries on two ancient botanical texts, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, and Dioscorides's *De materia medica*.¹¹ There are a number of reasons why these commentaries are especially suitable as the basis for such an analysis. First of all, as mediators between ancient texts and early modern readers, commentaries give particular clear insight into the way in which ancient texts were employed, by whom and for what purpose.¹² Moreover, commentaries occupy a central place in early modern botany, as most of the text editions that formed the basis of the discipline were accompanied by commentaries written by specialists in the field. In fact, a common thing specialists in medical botany would do in order to share their scholarly expertise was to write a commentary on an ancient botanical text, rather than writing a monograph. And despite Mercuriale's advice to read the ancient texts *without* the use of commentaries or lexica, in practice almost everyone made use of them.¹³

The reason for focusing on Pliny's *Natural History* and Dioscorides's *De materia medica* is that they were two of the most important, but nevertheless quite different, ancient texts that founded this field.¹⁴ Whereas Pliny's *Natural History* is an encyclopedia on all of nature, of which only

¹¹ For an overview of the most important early modern commentaries on these authors see Nauert C., "Caius Plinius Secundus", in Cranz F. – Kristeller P.O. – a.o. (eds.), *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides*, 8 vols. (Washington, DC: 1960–), vol. 4, 297–422 and Riddle J.M., "Dioscorides", *ibidem* 1–143.

¹² For some general reading on Renaissance commentaries see Buck A. – Herding O. (eds.), *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance* (Boppard: 1975), Pade M. (ed.), *On Renaissance Commentaries* (Hildesheim-New York: 2005), and Enenkel K.A.E. – Nellen H. (eds.), *Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1300–1700)*, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia* XXXIII, especially "Introduction" 1–76. For the commentary genre in general see Most G. (ed.), *Commentaries = Kommentare* (Göttingen: 1999).

¹³ This explicit admonition is actually an indication that texts of this sort were frequently used.

¹⁴ Cf. Reeds, "Renaissance Humanism" 536. Although in practice much botanical information was also derived from Galen and Theophrastus, and references to their works in the commentaries are abundant, they did not gain the same central status. Theophrastus was more concerned with causes and generation of plants than with their medicinal virtues, which made his work unsuited to the professional needs of medical students, while Galen covered so much more than just medical botany.

a part is dedicated to plants and their medical qualities, the five books of which Dioscorides's *De materia medica* consists are exclusively dedicated to the medicinal qualities of plants.¹⁵ Therefore, a comparison of commentaries on these two texts will enable us to explore the question of whether there are significant differences in the scholarly attitudes that might be related to the goal for which the texts were used and the role they were supposed to play.¹⁶

Challenges to Ancient Authority

From the end of the fifteenth century onwards there is a clear and renewed interest in the ancient botanical knowledge that was preserved in Pliny's *Natural History* and Dioscorides's *De materia medica*, revealed by, among other things, the proliferation of text editions and commentaries on these texts. This proliferation could partly be attributed to the fervor of the botanists who wished to go back to the ancient sources, but it was equally fuelled by the general humanist interest in ancient texts and their efforts to provide up-to-date and corrected text editions and commentaries as a goal in itself.¹⁷

The earliest editions mainly aim at providing a correct text and the commentaries attached to them aim at explaining and justifying the text critical choices. One of the crucial issues that arose from these text critical activities – and which created the first real challenge to the authority of

¹⁵ Pliny deals with botany in books 12–19 (general) and books 20–27 (plants with medicinal virtues). I have used the following edition: C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historiae libri XXXVII*, ed. by L. Jan – C. Mayhoff, 6 vols., Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Stuttgart: 1976–86 [1st ed. 1875–1906]), henceforth referred to as Pliny, *HN*. For Pliny's thought see further French R.K. – Greenaway F. (eds.), *Science in the Early Roman Empire: Pliny the Elder, His Sources and Influence* (London-Totowa: 1986) and Beagon M., *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford-New York: 1992). For Dioscorides I have used the following edition: *De materia medica libri quinque*, ed. by M. Wellmann (Berlin: 1906–1914), 3 vols., besides Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbus, *De materia medica*, transl. by L.Y. Beck (Hildesheim: 2005). For further information on this work see Riddle J.M., *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine* (Austin: 1985). Apart from plants Dioscorides also discusses the medicinal qualities of animal, metal and mineral substances.

¹⁶ Cf. Anthony Grafton in the introduction of *Natural Particulars*, 16: 'The choice of classical texts to study, and of approaches to take to them, is far from neutral'.

¹⁷ Especially Pliny was a popular text for humanists to rack their brains on, see Davies M., "Making Sense of Pliny in the Quattrocento", *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995) 240–257 and Nauert C.G., "Humanists, Scientists, and Pliny: Changing Approaches to a Classical Author", *American Historical Review* 84 (1979) 72–85.

the ancient texts – was the question of whether the ancient authors were responsible for the mistakes encountered in the text. “No”, was the firm answer given by Ermolao Barbaro in his introduction to the first commentary to Pliny’s *Natural History*, the *Castigationes Pliniana*.¹⁸ Although he boasts to have corrected more than five thousand errors, there is no question in his mind that Pliny could have been responsible for these mistakes. The corruptions are due to negligent scribes and overly ambitious later editors. Barbaro’s corrections thus aim at restoring the *Natural History* to what he believes is its original state, that is, as it was written by Pliny.

“Yes”, was the answer to this question by the Ferrarese medical scholar Niccolò Leonicensio, given in his correspondence with Angelo Poliziano.¹⁹ His debate with Poliziano about certain textual corruptions in Pliny finally culminated in Leonicensio’s treatise *De Plinii et aliorum in medicina erroribus*.²⁰ Although both Leonicensio and Poliziano try to solve detailed text critical questions by means of comparison with other ancient authorities or by the use of different codices, it is clear that they embark from a different basic understanding of ancient authority. Whereas Leonicensio, among other things, argues that what Pliny wrote on natural history was ‘insufficiently researched and confirmed by him’, Poliziano suggests that it is not proper to criticize an authority such as Pliny, because of his undisputed importance for knowledge of the world and the Latin language.²¹

Leonicensio was critical about the *Natural History*, because he approached it as a text which could be and actually was employed in medical practice, but which led to dangerous situations because of all its errors in

¹⁸ Hermolaus Barbarus, *Castigationes Pliniana* (Rome, Eucharius Argenteus: 1492). There is also a modern edition with commentary, Hermolaus Barbarus, *Castigationes Pliniana et in Pomponium Melam*, ed. by G. Pozzi, 4 vols. (Padua: 1973–1979). For Barbaro’s goals and method, which he expressed and explained in his dedication, notice to the reader and postscript, see the introduction by G. Pozzi (in Barbarus, *Castigationes Pliniana*, vol. I) and d’Amico J.F., *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism: Beatus Rhenanus between Conjecture and History* (Berkeley: 1988) 21–23.

¹⁹ Angelo Poliziano, *Letters*, ed. and transl. by S. Butler (Cambridge, MA: 2006), vol. I, 82–106 (letters 2.3–2.7).

²⁰ I have seen the edition: Leonicensio Nicolaus, *De Plinii et aliorum medicorum erroribus liber* (Basel, Henricus Petri: 1529). The first edition was published in 1492 in Ferrara, at Laurentius de Rubeis.

²¹ For an analysis of the discussion between Poliziano and Leonicensio and Leonicensio’s criticism, see French R.K., “Pliny and Renaissance Medicine”, in French – Greenaway, *Science in the Early Roman Empire* 263–271 and Dilg P., “Die botanische Kommentarliteratur Italiens um 1500 und ihr Einfluss auf Deutschland”, in Buck – Herding (eds.), *Der Kommentar* 225–252.

botanical nomenclature and identifications.²² The resistance his criticism encountered illustrates how difficult it was for many to accept the fallibility of the ancients. This situation remained the case during most of the sixteenth century, when many comparable discussions were held over and over again. A case in point is the controversy between Guilandino and Mercuriale on a passage in Galen. In his *Papyrus*, a commentary on Pliny's passages concerning this ancient writing material, Guilandino observes that Galen has made two errors with regard to the identification of a certain Egyptian ointment.²³ This observation by Guilandino was repeated by Agostino Gadaldino in his commentary on Galen, where Mercuriale encountered it.²⁴ This stimulated Mercuriale to write a treatise against Guilandino and in defense of Galen, the goal of which was, in his own words:

[...] so that I might either defend Galen, to which all medical men owe everything, or so that I might better understand that he himself has made a mistake. [...] But I, Guilandino, absolutely do not believe that Galen in this case has failed us, because I believe rather that you (unless I am forced by more weighty arguments to change my mind) have consulted corrupt manuscripts of Athenaeus and Galen, or that you, on account of your many occupations, have examined the words of these authors less carefully.²⁵

Mercuriale's aim is to restore Galen's authority, because he cannot believe that an ancient writer with such importance for the medical profession could have made a mistake. He rather blames the error on the manuscript

²² Cf. Leonicens 87. Leonicens admits that Pliny was more popular for his vocabulary and eloquence than for his medical knowledge. Therefore he was even more critical on the mistakes of contemporary medical authors, whose works were employed more frequently and therefore constituted more danger than Pliny.

²³ Melchior Guilandinus, *Papyrus, hoc est Commentarius in tria C Plinij maioris de papyro capita. Accessit Hieronymi Mercurialis repugnantia, qua pro Galeno strenue pugnatur. Item Melchioris Guilandini assertio sententiae in Galenum a se pronunciatae* (Venice, Marcus Antonius Ulmus: 1572) 231. This edition henceforth quoted as *Papyrus*.

²⁴ The particular lemma from Gadaldino's commentary with which Mercuriale's defence was concerned was repeated in *Papyrus* 234. This same treatise by Guilandino also led to a controversy with Josephus Justus Scaliger, which illustrates a difference between Italian and French antiquarians, according to Grafton A.T., "Rhetoric, Philology and Egyptomania in the 1570s: J.J. Scaliger's Diatribe against M. Guilandinus's *Papyrus*", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979) 167–194.

²⁵ *Papyrus* 236: '[...] quo Galenum, cui omnia medici omnes debent, vel tuerer vel ipsum errasse certius intelligerem. [...] Ego vero, Guilandine, tantum abest, ut credam Galenum hac in re nos fefelisse, quod potius te (nisi gravioribus rationibus alius sentire cogar) vel pravos Athenaei et Galeni codices habuisse, vel horum auctorum verba, pro tuis multis occupationibus minus sedulo examinasse puto'.

tradition or on Guilandino's expertise than to question the authority himself. Guilandino's reaction to Mercuriale's claims is less one-dimensional:

In the end I believe that we should diligently take care, that in the interpretation of the medicaments of the ancients, not to distance ourselves – rashly, and only based on the sharpness of our intellect – from the exposition of these same ancients, before we have explored those who have written contrasting things about the same matter, or, certainly, before we can more correctly explain the ancients on the basis of other ancient texts.²⁶

Guilandino does not question the importance and the authority of the ancient texts in general and certainly does not wish to argue that intellect alone is enough, but he is much more nuanced. He believes that even the ancients could have been mistaken, and that therefore the study of medicaments calls for a diligent analysis and comparison of all ancient sources instead of relying on the authority of one more than the other.

Although nearly a century had passed, the discussion between Mercuriale and Guilandino has much in common with the controversy between Poliziano and Leonicensio. Whereas Poliziano and Mercuriale are hesitant to attack the authority of the 'big names of antiquity' – i.e. Pliny and Galen – Leonicensio and Guilandino strive for a more objective and historical analysis of all ancient sources to arrive at the right understanding of the material. This difference might be accounted for by their different expertise and the different settings in which they worked. On the one hand are Poliziano, a textual critic, and Mercuriale, a scholar of theoretical medicine and antiquarian, while on the other hand are Leonicensio and Guilandino, both medical men with a special expertise in the field of botany and a practical streak.²⁷

It seems that specialist expertise caused scholars to assess ancient scientific texts more on truth and applicability than scholars who lacked this expertise. At the same time it appears that scholars with a specialist expertise in botany were especially drawn to those ancient texts that also specialized in this particular field. There is a significant number of botanical experts among the early modern commentators on Dioscorides's *De materia medica*, none of whom wrote a commentary on

²⁶ *Papyrus* 243: 'Postremo nobis studiose cavendum esse statuo, ne in veterum medicamentis interpretandis ab expositione eorundem veterum temere et ex ingenii solum acumine recedamus, priusquam aut pugnantia scripsisse eos de eodem re exploratum habeamus, aut certe veteres per alios veteres rectius declarare possimus'.

²⁷ For the differences in approach between Mercuriale and Guilandino see Siraisi, "History, Antiquarianism, and Medicine" 236.

Pliny's *Natural History*.²⁸ An interesting exception in this respect is the commentary on the *Natural History* by botanist Jacques Daléchamps, published in 1587.²⁹

Daléchamps's main goal was to make the *Natural History*, which in his words was 'greater than any recommendation can express', more accessible to contemporary readers. This goal was served primarily by the restoration of the text, but also by the organization of the text and paratexts. Making Pliny more accessible for Daléchamps also means making him more understandable. This goal is served in the commentary by means of references to Pliny's sources, other ancient texts, paraphrases or analogies. His comments serve to bridge the gap between the reader and Pliny by adding to the reader's knowledge, not by complicating or questioning Pliny's knowledge. That is, this approach occurs in the greatest part of the commentary, dealing with fields in which Daléchamps was no expert.³⁰

Something striking is apparent, though, if we take a closer look at Daléchamps's comments on those parts of Pliny that he did specialize in, that is botany. Here, we suddenly find comments that reflect on the relationship between Pliny's knowledge and contemporary developments, and even explicit criticisms when Daléchamps believes Pliny to be wrong. A case in point is his comment on Pliny's account of the spices *cassia* and *cinnamomum*, two variants of what nowadays is called cinnamon.³¹ The reason to choose this particular lemma, apart from the fact that it illustrates Daléchamps's critical approach to Pliny, is that it provides a good opportunity to compare other commentaries later on. Not only have the ancient botanical authors all discussed these spices, there also appear to have been a number of obscurities regarding their identification and provenance. These obscurities elicited discussions among the early modern

²⁸ See the list compiled by Riddle, "Dioscorides" 2. Among the commentators on Dioscorides are, for example, Otto Brunfels, Amatus Lusitanus, Valerius Cordus, Conrad Gesner, Leonhart Fuchs, and Luca Ghini.

²⁹ Pliny, *Historia mundi libri XXXVII* (Lyon, Bartholomaeus Honoratus: 1587), henceforth quoted as 'Dalecampius'. See Nauert, "Caius Plinius Secundus" 409–412.

³⁰ For a more detailed analysis of his commentatorial strategies see Beer S. de, "The World Upside Down: The Geographical Revolution in Humanist Commentaries on Pliny's *Natural History* and Mela's *De situ orbis* (1450–1700)", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Nellen H. (eds.), *Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1300–1700)*, Humanistica Lovaniensia Supplementa (Louvain: 2013).

³¹ Pliny, *HN* 12, 85–98. For the identification of these ancient spices see André J., *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique* (Paris: 1985) 52 and 67. Cf. also Innes Miller J., *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C. to A.D. 641* (Oxford: 1969) 42–47. Dioscorides discusses *cassia* in *De materia medica* I 13 and *cinnamomum* in I 14. They are both species of the *Cinnamomum Cassia* Blume, commonly referred to as cinnamon.

scholars that give a particularly good insight into their way of combining ancient and early modern knowledge. Daléchamps in his commentary primarily attacked Pliny's assertion that *cassia* and *cinnamon* originated from Ethiopia.³²

Pliny foolishly adds that it comes from Ethiopia, soon adding that the Ethiopians buy it from their neighbors. [...]. As now, cinnamon was also taken then from the Moluccas to upper India; it was used as a principle merchandise by the people of Ethiopia, which lies at the Red Sea and who we call the Abyssinians, because of the convenient vicinity of the Ocean: but this has escaped Pliny.³³

Thus Daléchamps's knowledge of the current spice trade leads him to assess Pliny on the truth of his account, whereas he approached all the other subjects in Pliny with much more clemency. This shows how expertise created a challenge to ancient authority.

A similar challenge is formed when experts assess the ancient texts on practical applicability. For this we may compare the comments on the same spices *cassia* and *cinnamomum* in the *Historia Plantarum* of 1586, a botanical treatise usually ascribed to Jacques Daléchamps as well.³⁴ Though not strictly a commentary, this particular lemma brings together all ancient accounts on these spices, mainly from Pliny, Galen, Theophrastus and Dioscorides, supplied with accounts by early modern authors. Regarding the medicinal uses of *cassia* and *cinnamomum* Dioscorides observed that you could use twice the amount of *cassia* if *cinnamomum* were not available.³⁵ The *Historia Plantarum* however adds the following warning by Garcia de Orta on this subject:

Garcia warns against the authority of Dioscorides and Galen and asks all medical men and pharmacologists not to use cassia in the double amount of cinnamon in their medicaments.³⁶

³² Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XII, 86–87.

³³ Dalecampius 307: 'Insulse tamen Plinius apud Aethiopas nasci tradit, mox subiungens Aethiopas mercari a conterminis. [...] Ut nunc, ita et olim, e moluccis in superiorem Indiam cinnamomum vehebatur, mercimonium id potissimum exercente, quae ad rubrum mare iacet, Aethiopum gente, quos Abyssinos vocamus, ob commodam Oceani propinquitatem: quae res Plinium fefellit'.

³⁴ [Jacques Daléchamps], *Historia generalis plantarum in libros XVIII per certas classes artificiose digesta* [...], 2 vols. (Lyon, Gulielmus Rovilius: 1586). This work henceforth quoted as *Historia Plantarum*.

³⁵ Dioscorides, *De materia medica* I, 13, 3.

³⁶ *Historia Plantarum* 1806: 'Garcias contra Dioscoridis et Galeni auctoritatem monet rogatque medicos et pharmacopoeos omnes ne cassiam duplici pondere pro cinnamomo compositionibus immisceant'. In the margin we find a reference to the work by Garcia

Although it is not said what will happen if medical men and pharmacologists do follow the ancient recipe, it is clear that the reason to go explicitly against the ancient authority lies in the practical applicability of the text.

Besides acknowledging that the ancients had been wrong at certain points, early modern scholars came to realize that ancient knowledge was not complete. This attitude is particularly clear in the early modern commentaries on ancient botanical texts, because they not only provided explanations or cross-references to other ancient texts, but also added new knowledge on the same plants or information on newly discovered plants. This last category became increasingly important, because, whereas the ancient botanical texts only covered the Mediterranean, botanists from other parts of Europe found many more, different plants. To this should be added the plants that were discovered in the New World, which became an important source for medicine. For this supplementary knowledge the commentators both relied on their own botanical expertise, and gathered information from colleagues and other contemporary sources.

The scale on which ancient texts were supplemented with new information, compared to the cases in which they were explicitly criticized, suggests that accepting the ancients' incompleteness was far easier than accepting their fallibility. Moreover, the format of the commentary seemed quite a safe way to present new knowledge without having to interfere explicitly with the ancient source text. Thus, in his comment on Dioscorides's lemma on the Iris, Mattioli could add a whole section on the medicinal qualities of the Iris that were not known to Dioscorides, without criticizing the ancient author for this lacuna.³⁷ However, the amount of new information that was added in relation to the source text did ultimately have consequences for the ancient authority, as is shown clearly by the development of this same commentary by Mattioli, to which we will shortly turn.

Acknowledging that the ancients had failed to notice things that were known in the early modern period was, nevertheless, not completely harmless. This is made explicit in the comment by Gabriele Falloppio on

de Orta in which he made this observation, that is in his *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia*, originally a Portuguese work that was first published in the Latin translation by Carolus Clusius in 1567 (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin).

³⁷ Matthiolus Petrus Andreas, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia* (Venice, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1565) 19 (in the margin): 'Iridis vires praeter traditas a Dioscoride'.

Dioscorides's account of *cassia* and *cinnamomum*. Just like Daléchamps, Falloppio also enters into the discussion of the provenance of these spices. Having seen all the ancient accounts and having compared them with the current knowledge on this topic, Falloppio cannot but conclude that the ancients had not been aware of the location where these spices had been found:

But according to my judgment the ancients were completely ignorant regarding the location. And I do not say this in order to undermine their authority, but to simply and correctly give my opinion.³⁸

His apologies cannot conceal the fact that he does challenge the authority of the ancients, and that he does so in order to arrive at a most truthful account.

Thus far we have seen that the ancient botanical texts gradually lost their status as undisputed and omniscient sources of knowledge, as they were increasingly challenged both for their correctness and completeness. And although the information on plants and their medicinal qualities gathered from observation and experiments did not replace ancient knowledge all at once, it certainly became more comprehensive than what the ancients had ever provided. This being the case, we may wonder why they did not disappear from the stage altogether. I will argue that they remained of pivotal importance for early modern scholars, because they provided an organizational basis for botanical knowledge and lend authorization to a new and innovative discipline.

Ancient Texts as Organizational Principle

The ancient botanical texts remained the organizational basis for new botanical knowledge, both because all botanical research had started out from this basis, and because no other alternatives were yet available. Thus the order in which the plants in the botanical garden of Padua were laid out in the beds reflects the order in which they were discussed in textbooks, a

³⁸ Falloppius Gabriel, *De materia medicinali in librum primum Dioscoridis*, in his *Opera omnia*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, Claudius Marnius: 1606), vol. II, 25–59, on 46: 'Sed de loco ignari fuere penitus meo quidem iudicio antiqui. Hoc autem non dico ego ad delendam eorum auctoritatem, sed ut meam simpliciter et recte proferam sententiam'.

traditional sequence that was based on Dioscorides's *De materia medica*.³⁹ This same principle is pre-eminently embodied by the format of the commentary, of which the ancient source text as the organizational basis is a central feature. Again, it is significant that for organizational purposes Dioscorides's *De materia medica* was mostly preferred over other ancient texts, even though roughly the same plants were discussed in Pliny, Galen or Theophrastus. But Dioscorides had apparent advantages, because the principle of its organization was clear, it discussed most plants only once, and it dealt with medicinal plants exclusively. Therefore it functioned as the ancient example par excellence for the discipline of medical botany.

A good example of how the ancient text as an organizational principle worked is Andrea Mattioli's commentary on Dioscorides's *De materia medica*, which was first published in Italian in 1544.⁴⁰ Because the interest in this work appeared not to be confined to Italy, the work was subsequently published in Latin. The first Latin edition appeared in 1554, after which numerous expanded editions followed, within a short space of time.⁴¹ These expansions mostly concerned the addition of new information about certain plants or new medicaments for certain diseases. As a botanist Mattioli himself obtained this information, but he also relied on his peers, most of whom he mentioned in the introduction or at appropriate places. Furthermore every new edition presented more illustrations drawn from life. Yet, the basic structure remained unchanged; Dioscorides formed the backbone of a growing book of innovative scholarship.

As an example of what kind of work this amounted to, let us take a closer look at Mattioli's lemma on the spices *cassia* and *cinnamomum*,

³⁹ Ubriszy Savoia A., "The Botanical Garden of Padua in Guilandino's Day", in Minelli A. (ed.), *The Botanical Garden of Padua 1545–1995* (Venice: 1995) 173–184, on 181. This order was the most practical, because the garden was used for the teaching of simples on the basis of these texts. A further indication that commentaries were used in this context is the fact that plans of the garden have been found, on which the plants are identified both by their names and by the page numbers of Mattioli's commentary on which they are discussed (Ubriszy Savoia, "The Botanical Garden of Padua" 185).

⁴⁰ The central and exemplary role of this commentary in early modern botany has already been acknowledged in several publications, a.o. Palmer, "Medical Botany", Findlen, "The Formation", and Nutton V., "Mattioli and the Art of Commentary", in Fausti D. (ed.), *La complessa scienza dei semplici* (Siena: 2004) 133–147. I have consulted the 1565 Venice edition of Mattioli's commentary, henceforth quoted as Mattioli.

⁴¹ See Riddle, "Dioscorides" 92–97 for all the editions and the differences between them. The most important revisions were the editions of Venice, 1558 and Venice, 1565. This latter revision is double the size of the original commentary, and has superior, enlarged woodcuts taken from the Prague 1562 edition of the Czech translation of Mattioli's commentary.

discussed by Dioscorides in book I.⁴² It combines information from a wide range of ancient sources with considerations by contemporary authors and his own experiences. Mattioli for example begins with a consideration of *cassia* in other ancient writers, among whom he mentions Galen, Theophrastus and Pliny. After observing that Theophrastus identifies *cassia* with *cneorum*, Mattioli refutes the opinions of his contemporaries Fuchs and Anguilarius that *cneorum* can be put on a par with lavender or rosemary. Then he states that he himself, during a field trip in Bohemia, has found a plant that he believes to be *cneorum* as mentioned by Theophrastus. He adds an illustration, because he would like to know whether other experts agree with his identification. [Fig. 1] If not, he adds, he would be very satisfied if they would call it 'Mattioli's *cneorum*' from then on.⁴³

The lemma also gives an interesting insight into the botanical practice of the day, in which scholars, physicians, merchants and princes all have a certain share. Mattioli for example discusses the errors of medical men and the people who make ointment, because they have bought a spice that the merchants from Alexandria sold as *cassia*, but which appeared to be something else – but this is something merchants often do: selling regular spices as something very special and rare. As such they sell *cassia* as if it were *cinnamomum*. As to Mattioli himself, however hard he has tried to obtain it, he has never seen real *cinnamomum*. Therefore he distrusts and even curses the people who say they have seen it, like Fuchs and Amatus Lusitanus. Mattioli is nevertheless rather surprised that he has never seen *cinnamomum*, because Pliny writes that it grows at the same spots as *cassia* does.⁴⁴

Mattioli regularly assesses the trustworthiness or applicability of the information he presents, especially in regard to the opinions of his contemporaries, but he seldom interferes in a critical manner with Dioscorides's text itself. Rather than a discussion, his lemma functions as an addition to the source text, the two together presenting an archive of related knowledge. As such the commentary as a whole can be put on a par with the collections of naturalia created in this period, as a 'way of maintaining some degree of control', just as Pliny the Elder had envisaged in his Encyclopedia.⁴⁵

⁴² Mattioli 44–51, capita 12 and 13 (I 13 and 14 in the modern edition).

⁴³ Mattioli 47: 'Appinximus hic eius imaginem et eius historiam descripsimus, non tam tuendae opinionis nostrae causa quam ut caeteri rei plantariae periti de hac planta suum quoque iudicium ferant. Nam ubi ii Theophrasti Cneorum ipsam esse negaverint, erit mihi satis superque satisfactum, si Matthioli Cneorum ipsam appellaverint'.

⁴⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 12, 95.

⁴⁵ Quoted from Findlen, "Possessing Nature" 3.

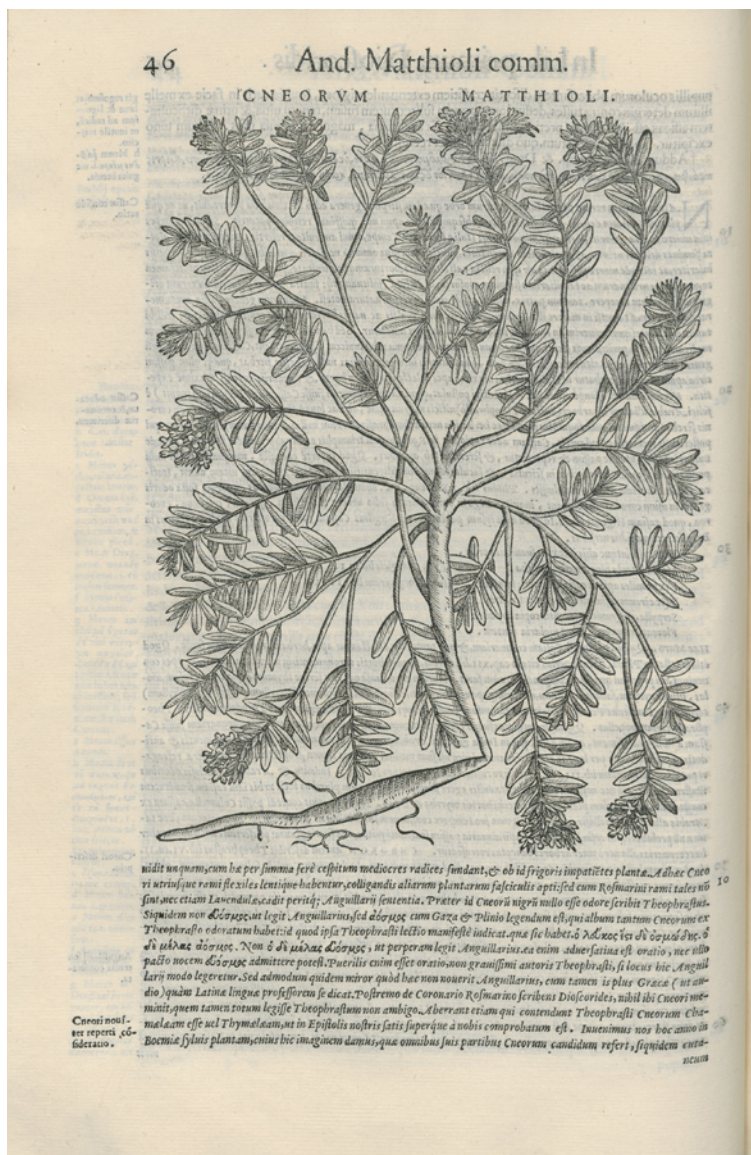


Fig. 1. "Cneorum Mattheoli". Engraving to Petrus Andreas Mattioli, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia* (Venice, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1565) 46. Photo courtesy of Leiden University Library (inv. 650 A 1).

Although this method of commenting leaves Dioscorides's text strictly unchallenged, the fact that the commentary far exceeded the source text did influence the status of the ancient text and the perception of authorship. Just to give an impression: whereas Dioscorides's capita on cinnamon cover less than one page, Mattioli's lemma covers almost seven folio pages. Consequently, as with every edition the amount of commentary grew, the way the work as a whole was presented and perceived gradually changed. Whereas in the first edition Dioscorides's text was presented as the primary text, in later editions Mattioli claimed a more prominent place for himself as the author of the work. This can be seen most clearly on the title page, where Mattioli's name becomes more prominent than that of Dioscorides.⁴⁶ [Figs. 2 and 3]. But the transformation is also reflected in the way contemporaries referred to the work, as Paula Findlen has been able to track. Whereas initially it was referred to as the 'Dioscorides's by Mattioli, from the 1550s onwards it was sufficient to refer to 'the Mattioli', as if it were an autonomous work.⁴⁷

Also in the paratexts we can distinguish several elements that suggest that the commentary is not thought of as secondary to the source text, but at the least equal. Illustrative in this respect is the author's portrait, which is accompanied with an epigram by Georg Handtsch suggesting that 'if the mind, just as the body, could be portrayed, the image of Dioscorides and Mattioli would be the same'⁴⁸ [Fig. 4]. Furthermore, in the objectives of the edition which Mattioli expresses in his preface the importance of the

⁴⁶ The title of the 1544 Italian edition reads *Di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo Libri cinque della historia, e materia medicinale tradotti in lingua volgare italiana da M. Pietro Andrea Matthiolo. Con amplissimi discorsi, et comenti, et dottissime annotationi* [...]. This title page prints 'Dioscoride' in the largest font. In 1548 a revised and enlarged edition was under the title *Il Dioscoride dell'eccellente dottor medico m. P. Andrea Matthioli, co i suoi discorsi*. Further revised and enlarged, the commentaries were published in Latin with the Latin translation of Dioscorides in 1554 under the title: *Petri Andreae Matthioli Medici Senensis Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis De medica materia*, and in 1555 in Italian under the title: *Pierandrea Matthioli, I discorsi nei sei libri della materia medicinale de Pedacio Dioscoride*. From these last two title pages onwards the name of Mattioli is printed in the largest font. This information was retrieved from worldcat.org, OCLC number 14297027.

⁴⁷ Findlen, "The Formation" 375–377.

⁴⁸ Mattioli, author's portrait: 'Si mens, ut corpus, depingi posset, imago una Dioscoridis Matthiolique foret'. Paula Findlen remarks that this epigram appeared for the first time in the 1568 Italian edition, but it is already present in the Venice 1565 edition (at least in the copy in the Leiden University Library, 650 A 1). Her translation of the epigram ("The Formation" 375) suggests that it illustrates Mattioli's superiority, but *una* actually underlines that they can be put on a par and that therefore this one portrait suffices for both of them.



Fig. 2. Title page of the first Italian edition of Mattioli's commentary, *Pedacius Dioscoride, Libri cinque della historia et materia medicinale* [...] (Venice, De Bascarini: 1544). Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (inv. FRBNF 30908403).

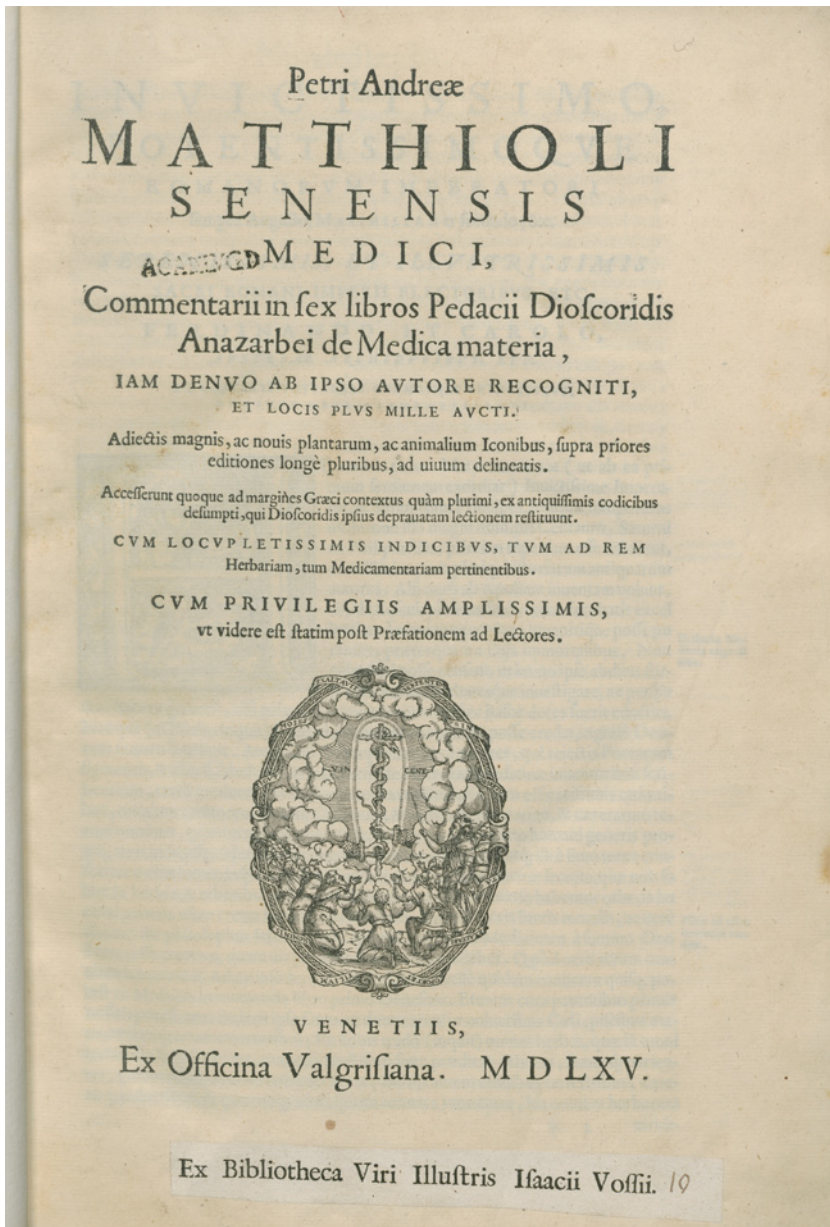


Fig. 3. Title page of the 1565 Latin edition of Petrus Andreas Mattioli, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia* (Venice, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1565). Photo courtesy of Leiden University Library (inv. 650 A 1).



Fig. 4. Georg Handtsch, 'Portrait of Andrea Mattioli'. Engraving to Petrus Andreas Mattioli, *Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica materia* (Venice, Vincentius Valgrisius: 1565). Photo courtesy of Leiden University Library (inv. 650 A 1).

commentary becomes clear: his goal was not only to provide Dioscorides's text in Latin, but also to discuss and assess the information provided by other experts to arrive at a truthful and useful account of all these plants.⁴⁹ Finally, the indices of the work also underline that Dioscorides's text and the commentary should be equally regarded. For example, in the index of medicaments, which is arranged according to the diseases they are supposed to cure, each section distinguishes between the medicaments mentioned by Dioscorides and those mentioned by Mattioli.⁵⁰ This index is furthermore enhanced with diseases and medicaments mentioned in the commentary but not in the source text.

With all these tools to open up both text and commentary, and with every edition presenting the latest information on plants and diseases gathered by the scientific community of botanists, we can easily understand why this commentary came to function as a practical botanical guide, under the authorship of Mattioli rather than Dioscorides. The one remaining element that still clearly reminded the reader of the ancient origin was its organization. However, from a handy tool to organize botanical knowledge, the ancient format became more and more artificial and ultimately appeared incapable of covering all new information. We can already see traces of this development in the lemma by Mattioli we have discussed above. Because Dioscorides did not discuss the plant that Mattioli thought he found on one of his expeditions, *cneorum*, he included it in his lemma on Dioscorides's *cassia*. He legitimized this insertion by means of an identification with this plant in Theophrastus. Moreover, he added a section on *cassia solutiva* because it was a spice regularly used by physicians. Dioscorides and other ancient authors, however, had never mentioned it.

Thus it seems that the one thing that stood between Mattioli's commentary and an autonomous botanical guide was its organization. This point is made explicit in the introduction of the *Historia Plantarum* (1586), the botanical work ascribed to Jacques Daléchamps we discussed before.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Mattioli fol. *6v.

⁵⁰ Mattioli fol. D5r: 'Simplicium medicamentorum facultates secundum locos, ex Dioscoride et Matthioli commentariis' ('Lists of properties of medicinal simples according to the parts of the body, on the basis of Dioscorides and the comments by Mattioli'). There are also lists of medicaments according to kinds of diseases, medicaments that improve the beauty of the body, and medicaments that prompt accumulated fluids to be excreted from the body by vomiting or otherwise thrown out.

⁵¹ Generally cited as Daléchamps Jacques, *Historia generalis plantarum in libros XVIII per certas classes artificiose digesta* [...], 2 vols. (Lyon, Gulielmus Rovilius: 1586), although

Although not strictly a commentary, the *Historia Plantarum* derives much of its information from the same sources as the botanical commentaries, and is directly indebted to these same commentaries.⁵² Moreover, the *Historia Plantarum* also provides the reader with a number of useful and practical tools, such as various indices, and translations of plant names in the most important European languages. From this viewpoint it is quite understandable that the editor of this work singled out Mattioli's commentary on Dioscorides as its most important competitor. To position itself against it, he therefore pointed to the one aspect in which they differed most clearly, that is its *organization*:

And this [i.e. my objective] truly has been to generally and universally transmit to future generations the history of all those plants that have filled our memory and that have been mentioned and celebrated by medical men and botanists alike, as a treasury of all those plants that have been transmitted into our age, and whereas all others have presented them to us in undigested heaps as it were (since it was not permitted to Mattioli to choose another arrangement than Dioscorides himself), by contrast – to distribute them artfully in certain classes.⁵³

Unlike Mattioli's commentary, the *Historia Plantarum* takes the freedom to devise a classification of its own, independent of the ancient categories. In this case an arrangement is chosen according to the kinds of environment in which the plants grow. Thus, although the content of both works, in which ancient botanical knowledge still forms the foundation of most plant descriptions, is quite similar, the *Historia Plantarum* clearly presents itself as something more *autonomous* than a commentary. This approach

it seems rather that it is based on his work than actually written by him. The introduction mentions Daléchamps as one of the people who put his collection and notes at the disposal of the editor of this work. Moreover we find references to 'Dalecampius' in the text itself that would be unfitting if he were the author himself. For this work in the context of other early modern herbals, see Ogilvie B.J., "The Many Books of Nature. Renaissance Naturalists and Information Overload", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003) 29–40, on 37.

⁵² The section on cinnamon, for example, mentions largely the same ancient sources cited by Daléchamps or Mattioli. Moreover, Daléchamps's comments on the provenance of these spices in his commentary on Pliny are integrated verbatim into this same section in the *Historia Plantarum* 1800: '[...] quae res Plinium fefellit, ut recte Dalecampius annotavit'.

⁵³ *Historia Plantarum* fol. *4r: 'Id vero fuit, generatim et in universum omnium plantarum, quae innotuerunt memoria nostra a medicisque et herbariis memoratae ac celebratae fuerunt, historiam ad posteros transmittere velut thesaurum omnium, quae ad aevum usque nostrum traditae sunt, et quum caeteri omnes indigestos quosdam earum cumulos nobis proposuissent (siquidem nec Matthiolo alium quam ipse Dioscorides ordinem tenere licebat), eas contra in certas classes artificiose distribuere'.

illustrates the development that would eventually lead to the most crucial change in botany: the classification of the plant world by Linnaeus.

Ancient Texts as Authorization of a New Discipline

Apart from the *organizational* foundation that ancient texts still provided in many cases, it also provided the authorization and legitimization for new botanical knowledge. New information or new methods were presented in an ancient framework, attached to the ancient texts, and legitimized by ancient examples, in order to render them more authoritative. This approach was especially important in the case of medical botany, a discipline that did not originally have a fixed and independent place in the medical curriculum. It was, rather, part of the lower and more 'practical' regions of the medical profession, practiced by pharmacists and physicians, not by university professors. Therefore, in order to enhance its status and to emancipate the discipline, it was of crucial importance to show that it was just as respectable as traditional medicine. An important way to do this was by emphasizing that, like traditional medicine, medical botany was also founded on authoritative ancient texts.

Thus we find several references to the ancient foundations of botany in the petition to the Riformatori of the Venetian government, by means of which the Paduan students asked for the botanical garden.⁵⁴ They invoked famous ancient writers on natural history, Theophrastus, Dioscorides and Pliny among others, to argue that medical botany was a discipline with respectable roots and that, therefore, the botanical garden would enhance the status of the University as a whole. They furthermore claimed that the ancient authors had stimulated the observation of nature as a source of knowledge. Also in the decree by which the Riformatori eventually granted permission to found the botanical garden, they referred to these same authors, and to the mutual relationship between the garden and the study of these texts.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ "Istanza del Consiglio dell'universita degli artisti ai Riformatori dello Studio (8 november 1543)" and "Nuova istanza del Consiglio ai Riformatori (14 february 1545)". These documents are quoted in Azzi Visentini M., *L'orto botanico di Padova e il giardino del Rinascimento* (Milan: 1984) 245–246.

⁵⁵ "Decreto del Senato sulla fondazione dell'Orto dei semplici (30 june 1545)", also quoted in Azzi Visentini, *L'orto botanico* 246–248.

Comparable strategies of authorization can be found in the introductions to the botanical commentaries, in which the importance of the subject was underlined. The introduction to Mattioli's commentary, for example, has a entire section on the divinity of nature, based on Pliny, and a whole list of ancient authors who also dealt with botany.⁵⁶ Moreover, to legitimize his specific choice for Dioscorides, Mattioli quotes Galen as a witness that he was the greatest authority in this field.⁵⁷ Interestingly, whereas Dioscorides's text appeared to be the most practical text to attach new botanical information to, it was the 'big names' of Pliny and Galen that were employed to legitimize this choice.

In this same section Mattioli defends Dioscorides against current criticism by claiming that the mistakes in the texts are due to the text transmission, not to the author himself, just like Barbaro and Mercuriale, among others, had defended Pliny and Galen.⁵⁸ The reason that Mattioli is explicitly concerned with authorizing Dioscorides lies in the direct relationship between the status of the commentary and the status of the source text. Commentators seldom directly criticize the text they comment on, because this would only undermine their own effort. This approach also means that in the format of the commentary the source text functions as authorization for the content of the commentary.⁵⁹ From this point of

⁵⁶ Mattioli, fol. *2r: 'Herbarium medicinam (ut ab ea primum sermonem exordiar), Invictissime Imperator, ac Serenissimi Principes, antiquis temporibus a Chirone illo magni nominis Centauro, Saturni ex Phillyra filio, primum repertam esse testantur, cum Plinius plerique historiarum antiquarum autores. Alii vero ab Apolline inventam volunt, alii ab Aesculapio eius filio, tantae facultatis excellentiam a nemine excogitari inveniri posse putantes praeterquam a Diis immortalibus' – 'Medicinal botany (to start off with this as the first word), Invincible Ruler, and Serene Princes, has first been invented in ancient times by Chiron, the centaur of great renown, the son of Saturnus and Phyllis, as Pliny and many authors of ancient histories testify. Some however say it was invented by Apollo, others by Aesculapius, his son, thinking that the outstanding quality of such great power could not have been thought up or invented by someone, besides the immortal gods. Cf. Findlen, "The Formation" 2–3: Natural History as a subject was legitimized by references to Pliny's encyclopedia.

⁵⁷ Mattioli 7: 'Dioscorides [...] in hac facultate peritissimus, consummatissimus et omnium facile princeps, gravissimo quoque Galeni testimonio [...].' – 'In this field Dioscorides is the most competent, the most perfect and easily the first of all, also on the basis of Galen's most weighty testimony'.

⁵⁸ Mattioli 7–8: 'Idcirco non Dioscoridi, sed scriptorum, et librariorum incuriae id viti adscribendum est' – 'Therefore this vice should not be ascribed to Dioscorides, but to the inaccuracy of scribes and copyists'.

⁵⁹ For commentaries as means of authorization and empowerment, see the introduction by Glenn Most in *Commentaries = Kommentare*. For the principle of charity in commentaries, i.e. the fact that most commentaries confirm the canonicity of its source text, see Sluiter I., "The Violent Scholiast: Power Issues in Ancient Commentaries", in

view it is understandable that new botanical knowledge was first attached to ancient texts, not only because of its principle of organization, but also in order to enhance its authority.

The authorization of medical botany by means of references to ancient botanical authors led to an interesting paradox, because it functioned at two levels at once, authorizing both botanical *knowledge* and *practices*. The legitimization of this last element was particularly important, because it concerned the most innovative element of the whole enterprise, that is, introducing observation into the university curriculum. At the same time this element appeared the least compatible with the other aspect of authorization, because it was precisely observation of nature that presented a challenge to ancient knowledge. A striking combination of these two levels of authorization can be seen in Gabriele Falloppio's commentary on Dioscorides. He observes that Galen's and Dioscorides's accounts concerning the selection of *cassia* do not match, and then concludes:

I rather agree with Galen as a man of enormous competence, who knows this from experience and has seen *cassia* in large amounts in the cabinets of his masters [...].⁶⁰

In this particular case Galen's authority and his claim on personal observation only add up to the same conclusion, but in many cases they are seen to contradict. And, extrapolated to the discipline as a whole, this would present an even more fundamental problem: if observation (as the ancient authors had argued) was the most important foundation of botanical knowledge, why bother about all these ancient books and commentaries? Mattioli realized that this was a serious threat to his enterprise and therefore addressed the dilemma in the introduction to his commentary. He emphasizes the importance of personal observation and clearly states that nobody can become a botanist solely by reading books. Nevertheless, books like his are not completely worthless:

Because books should be compiled in order to function for us as monuments of those things we have learned before, not as a means for us without any training and learning to gain perfect knowledge.⁶¹

Asper M. (ed.), *Writing Science: Mathematical and Medical Authorship in Ancient Greece* (Berlin: 2013).

⁶⁰ Falloppius, *De materia medicinali* 45: 'Ego autem potius cum Galeno consentio veluti viro peritissimo, qui expertus hoc sit et viderit cassiam copiosam in scriniis suorum imperatorum [...]'.

⁶¹ Mattioli 3: 'In hoc namque comparati sunt libri, ut nobis sint eorum, quae ante didicimus, monumenta, non ut rudes et ignari per illos doctrinam perfectam assequamur'.

Moreover, he adds, books also fulfill an important function for people who do not have the opportunity to observe nature for themselves because they lack proper teachers: learning from books is always better than learning nothing. This dilemma was created by the botanical scholars themselves in an effort to emancipate their discipline and put it on a par with the more traditional branches of medicine. Theoretical medical scholars did not have the same problem and could continue to prescribe the study of medicine by the readings of authoritative ancient texts, as Mercuriale did in his treatise 'de modo studendi'.

Ancient Texts as Authorization of Scholarly Competence

Not only in the legitimization of the discipline as a whole, but also in the authorization of the individual scholars' competence, the ancient texts remained of pivotal importance. However, in this respect they were not employed to legitimize the innovative qualities of their expertise, but rather to confirm their competence in a quite conservative manner. To enhance their trustworthiness botanical commentators seldom underlined their experience in herborizing, but they repeatedly emphasized their solid knowledge of the ancient authorities in this field. Likewise, there was no better way to discredit a fellow scholar than by claiming that his understanding of the ancient sources was below all standards, as appears from the long drawn-out controversy between Guilandino and Mattioli.⁶² In a letter to Conrad Gesner, Guilandino had discussed several points in Mattioli's commentary on which he disagreed with him.⁶³ Mattioli reacted with a letter to Gabriele Falloppio criticizing Guilandino's competence.⁶⁴ This in turn led Guilandino to publish a treatise in his own defense, in which he singled out a further hundred errors in Mattioli's commentary.⁶⁵ One of these points was Mattioli's observation, based on Galen, that *cassia*

⁶² For this controversy cf. Findlen, "The Formation" 387–388, who explains Mattioli's attacks on Guilandino's morality as a way to discredit his scholarly competence, and Palmer, "Medical Botany" 153–154.

⁶³ First published by Conrad Gesner in Guilandinus Melchior, *De stirpium aliquot nominibus vestustis ac novis epistolae II* (Basel, Nicolaus Episcopus Junior: 1557).

⁶⁴ Matthiolus Petrus Andreas, *Epistola de Bulbocastaneo, Oloconitide, [...] et aliis ad praeclarissimum Medicum Gabrielem Falloppium* (Prague, Joannes Cantor: 1558).

⁶⁵ Guilandinus Melchior, *Apologiae adversus P.A. Matthaeolum liber primus qui inscribitur Theon* (Padua, Gratiosus Perchacinus: 1558).

could change into *cinnamomum*.⁶⁶ Mattioli reacted with a small treatise in which he refuted Guilandino's criticism on twenty of these hundred points.⁶⁷ In this specific case of *cassia* and *cinnamomum* his refutation consisted mainly of a quite detailed discussion of all the ancient sources. However, the most important argument against Guilandino's account was his overall lack of expertise, characterized by his ignorance of the ancient authorities in this field:

But the people who read these things [i.e. what Guilandino has written], do not without indignation and dislike boo and damn the daring of this deceitful man, certainly assuring themselves, that he has longer acted as a mime-player, actor or parasite with Aristophanes, than he has spent with Dioscorides and Galen on the faculties of plants in particular.⁶⁸

Such argument *ad hominem* suggests that these polemics were not merely scholarly discussions meant to clarify botanical details, but were also a means of making and breaking scholarly reputations. This conclusion also clearly follows from the fact that they were not just carried out in private correspondences, but were often published as attachments to commentaries or as separate treatises. Mattioli was particularly famous, or rather infamous, for this practice of publicly denouncing the competence of his peers.⁶⁹ Interestingly, it was this trait that Peter Hesse singled out in his published defense of Guilandino against the attacks by Mattioli just mentioned. Before entering into a detailed discussion of these same twenty substances about which Guilandino and Mattioli disagreed, he defends Guilandino by stating that he had not wished for this controversy in the first place. However, now that Mattioli has made it public – or, in other words, Mattioli is after Guilandino's reputation – he has no other choice than to react.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Galenus, *De antidotis* I 13 ("De opobalsamo et cinnamomo") in *Opera Omnia*, ed. by K.G. Kuhn, 20 vols. (Leipzig: 1821–1833; [repr. Hildesheim: 1964]), vol. XIV, 62–67.

⁶⁷ Included in Petrus Hessus, *Defensio XX. problematum Melchioris Guilandini, adversus quae Petrus Andreas Mattheolus ex centum scripsit. Adiecta est Petrus Andreae Matthaeoli adversus XX. problemata Melchioris Guilandini disputatio* (Padua, Marcus Antonius Ulmus: 1562) 121–151 and henceforth quoted as Mattioli, *Disputatio*.

⁶⁸ Mattioli, *Disputatio* 130. 'Quae quidem qui legunt, non sine indignatione et stomacho mendacissimi hominis temeritatem exhibilant ac execrantur, sibi certo persuadentes, diutius hunc apud Aristophanem mimum, histrionem, parasitumque professum, quam apud Dioscoridem et Galenum in plantaria praesertim facultate versatum'.

⁶⁹ See Delisle C., "Private Text or Public Place? The Matthioli-Gesner Controversy about the *aconitum primum*", *Gesnerus* 61 (2004) 161–176.

⁷⁰ Hessus, *Defensio* 17: 'Defensio problematis II. de Cassia et Cinnamomo'. In the introduction (1–9), Hessus explains comprehensively how the initial letter by Guilandino could have been published without his knowledge.

Unlike the controversies between Poliziano and Leonicensio, or Guilandino and Mercuriale, this controversy does not arise from fundamental differences in their attitudes towards the ancient authorities. In fact, the way they approach the texts is quite similar. Nevertheless, or perhaps we should say, therefore, they focus on the points of criticism from which they expect the most effect in a public debate, that is in their handling of the ancient authorities, rather than by referring to their observation of nature itself. Apparently the authority of the ancient botanical texts was still such that proof of solid grounding in them was indispensable for the trustworthiness of an early modern botanical scholar; a *conditio sine qua non* for him to be taken seriously as an expert, even if his actual competence went far beyond the ancient roots of early modern botany. As a consequence, in a period during which the botanical garden had gained a fixed position in botanical research, and the professor of medical botany made numerous field trips to observe the plants in nature, the scholarly debates remained as bookish as ever and still centered on the traditional ancient texts.⁷¹

Ancient Texts as Legitimization of Commercial Benefits

Ancient texts could also function as a legitimization for the commercial benefits that both followed from, but also speeded up the successful emancipation of the discipline of medical botany. Inspired by ancient texts, but also in reaction to the inadequacies of ancient texts, medical botany was emancipated to an autonomous field of study: new professorships for medical botany were instituted, high salaries were paid to the best among them, and the botanical garden gained an important place in university teaching. However, this was not just due to the scholarly efforts of the humanist elite. For it was not only the scholars who benefitted, but the university as a whole, which saw a significant increase in the number of students and the money they brought. They, in their turn, had some considerable influence on the education they received – and thus on the developments in the field – because the students who contributed the most money determined who would be appointed to which professorships.

⁷¹ Palmer, "Medical Botany" 154: 'What is most striking about the whole controversy is how bookish it was'.

The novelty of the botanical garden also enhanced the reputation of the city of Padua and the Venetian government, as was already anticipated in the petition to the Riformatori. Many other professional groups also shared in the botanical renaissance embodied by the garden, such as physicians, pharmacists, merchants, book sellers, and printers.⁷² The commercial motives of these groups in their turn also influenced the attitude towards the ancient botanical tradition. That these were sometimes incompatible with scholarly motives can be seen, for example, in the case of botanical illustrations. The ancient authors, especially Galen and Pliny, had strongly argued against the use of illustrations in botanical handbooks. For one thing, Pliny said, illustrations are misleading because of all the colors. Furthermore, in the process of copying, the accuracy of illustrations might be harmed by less-gifted copyists. Finally, illustrations can never completely grasp all the appearances of a given plant, which, after all, change from season to season and from place to place.⁷³ Galen had primarily rejected illustrated books because they proved a less reliable source for botanical knowledge than observation of nature itself.⁷⁴

Understandably, these critical accounts had made the early modern botanists hesitant to include illustrations in their works, with which they meant to follow in the ancients' footsteps. Both Hieronymus Bock and Mattioli had therefore refrained from including illustrations in the first editions of their works. Printers and book sellers, however, saw the commercial benefits of illustrations, which made the works much more attractive to a wider public.⁷⁵ As a result, later editions of these same works were adorned with beautiful illustrations. Because of the ancient hesitations however, this decision clearly had to be defended.⁷⁶ Mattioli in

⁷² Palmer R., "Pharmacy in the Republic of Venice in the Sixteenth Century", in Wear A. – French R.K. – Lonie I.M. (eds.), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1985) 100–117.

⁷³ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXV, 4.

⁷⁴ Galenus, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* VI: Prooemium, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. K.G. Kuhn, 20 vols. (Leipzig: 1821–1833; [repr. Hildesheim: 1964]), vol. XI, 796–797.

⁷⁵ Swan C., "The Uses of Realism in Early Modern Illustrated Botany", in Givens J.A. – Reeds K.M. (eds.), *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200–1550* (Aldershot: 2006) 239–240, on 248 and Reeds, "Renaissance Humanism" 530–531. Mattioli included illustrations for the first time in his Latin edition of 1554, whereas in the 1550 Italian edition he had still condemned them, cf. Kusukawa S., "Illustrating Nature", in Frasca-Spada F. – Jardine L. (eds.), *Books and the Sciences in History* (Cambridge: 2000) 90–113, on 107.

⁷⁶ For the sixteenth-century debates about the authority of illustrations, see Kusukawa S., *Picturing the Book of Nature. Image, Text and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago: 2012), especially chapter 8 with regard to Mattioli.

his introduction includes a discussion with Giano Cornaro, who apparently had disapproved of his illustrations on the basis of Galen's opinions. Mattioli reacts to this criticism in two ways:

As if it were not allowed for later generations to think up something for themselves on the basis of their talent and efforts that had not been appreciated by the ancients. But he did not condemn pictures of plants or books written about the history of plants, but rather the people who think that solely on the basis of inspection of these pictures or these books, one can become an expert in botany.⁷⁷

Mattioli's first refutation seems the most fundamental, because he expresses his indignation about the ultimate consequence of Cornaro's criticism, that it would never be allowed to go against the ancients' precepts. He appears prepared to shake off the ancient yoke and make his own decision for once.⁷⁸ However, the second refutation shows that he cannot completely disregard Galen's authority. Thus he criticizes Cornaro for his misunderstanding of Galen's words and explains them in such a way that they can count as legitimization for his own choice to include illustrations.

A comparable, but less explicit reference to the ancients' position regarding illustrations, is presented in the introduction of the *Historia Plantarum*. About the illustrations in this work, the editor remarks:

I have instructed those who would draw or engrave the illustrations to see to it that their imitation would not be deceptive in the least (*minime fallax imitatio*), and that the things they represent would be approved by the eyes of the viewers because of both the truth and beauty of the image.⁷⁹

Although there is no explicit mention of the ancients in this discussion, it is nevertheless clear that 'minime fallax imitatio' is a reference to Pliny's criticism that illustrations tend to be 'fallax'.⁸⁰ The editor's guarantee that

⁷⁷ Mattioli fol. **5r: 'Quasi posteris non sit id licitum, ut et ipsi aliquid suo ingenio et studio excogitent, quod ab antiquis ante non sit animadversum. At non damnassem Galeum plantarum imagines, nec libros de plantarum historia conscriptos, sed homines, qui horum, harumve tantum inspectione posse quenquam rei plantariae fieri peritum'.

⁷⁸ Others had defended their choice for illustrations by references to Horace's *Ars poetica*, see Swan, "The Uses" 248.

⁷⁹ *Historia Plantarum* fol. *3v: '[...] eos qui plantarum simulachra delinearent, ac sculperent [...] operam in id navare iussi, hoc tantum imperans, ut illorum minime esset fallax imitatio, et quae repraesentarent, imaginis veritate ac venustate cernentium oculis approbarentur'.

⁸⁰ Pliny *Naturalis historia* 25, 4: 'Verum et pictura fallax est'.

these illustrations would not be deceptive can therefore be read as an assurance that even Pliny would have approved of them. Commercial and aesthetic motives played a decisive role in the inclusion of illustrations in early modern botanical works. Because these were not compatible with the most authoritative ancient ideas on illustrations by Galen and Pliny, it appeared difficult to find ancient legitimization for this practice, but we have seen that they still tried to explain them favourably for this purpose.

Conclusion

During the botanical Renaissance the ancient botanical texts gradually lost their status as undisputed and omniscient sources of knowledge, as they were increasingly challenged both for their correctness and completeness. Nevertheless they remained of pivotal importance for early modern scholars. This was possible because classical scholarship was transformed in such a way that it still met the requirements of the discipline, its practitioners and its beneficiaries. Whereas ancient knowledge was gradually overshadowed by early modern knowledge, ancient texts still provided the organizational basis for botanical knowledge and lend authorization to medical botany as an autonomous discipline in general, and to the related scholarly competences and commercial benefits in particular. Interestingly it is mainly Dioscorides's *De materia medica* that provided the organization, whereas Galen and Pliny were employed most often for authorization purposes. However, despite the advantages, we have also observed the first cracks in this ancient construction, as the wealth of new information called for more autonomous methods of organization, and ancient legitimization of some commercial benefits was at least problematic.

This transformation of classical scholarship is not unique for medical botany, and can be seen in other branches of the medical discipline and different fields of study as well. However, it appears that because of the practical applicability of botanical knowledge by physicians and pharmacists, and the lives that were at stake, the ancient texts vital to this discipline were challenged and complemented earlier and to a greater extent than the texts used in, for example, theoretical medicine. This situation might explain the differences between the commentaries on botanical treatises and, for example, the commentaries on Celsus's *De Medicina*. This ancient treatise functioned as a kind of compendium of medical

knowledge, mostly appreciated for providing Latin vocabulary for Greek terms.⁸¹ Because the use of this text was largely restricted to theoretical medicine, the commentaries hardly make any references to modern-day practice, but keep to cross-referencing with other ancient texts.⁸² In this respect the transformation of botanical commentaries into practical reference works is both illustrative of the development of classical scholarship in the early modern period, and unique in its kind.

⁸¹ See Shulze C., *Celsus* (Hildesheim: 2001).

⁸² This observation is based on spot checks in a number of humanist commentaries on *De medicina*, among which are the commentaries by Gulielmus Pantinus (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1552), Jodocus Lommius (Leiden, Johann Arnold Langerak: 1724 [first edition 1558]), Robertus Constantinus (Lyons, Gulielmus Rovillius: 1566), Hieremias Thriverius and Baldassare Ronsseus (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1592), and Girolamo Rossi (Venice, Iohannes Guerilius: 1616).

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ELEPHANTS AND BEARS THROUGH THE EYES OF SCHOLARS: A CASE STUDY OF PLINY'S ZOOLOGY IN THE 15TH–16TH CENTURIES*

Ekaterina Ilyushechkina

SUMMARY

This article focusses on 15th- to 16th-century commentaries on Pliny written by Sabellicus, Aquaeus, Gelenius, Pintianus, and Dalecampius. These commentators not only worked on the textual problems of the *Natural History*, but also tried to discuss and comment specifically on Pliny's zoological knowledge. As a case study for her analysis, the author singles out the various comments on certain passages from the eighth book of the *Natural History* that deal with elephants and bears. The paper argues that not only did the educational background of the scholars and the different goals they had in mind with their editions influence their assessments of Pliny, but so did the explosion of zoological and other types of knowledge gained after the "first wave" of geographic discoveries in the 16th century.

Introduction

In 1685, in the *Dedicatio* to his commentary on Pliny's *Natural History*,¹ the French scholar and Jesuit Jean Hardouin (1646–1729) emphasizes – perhaps a bit exaggeratedly – the diversity and the importance of Pliny's work:

If you would desire either elegant Latin language, or majestic purposes, or stylistic sharpness, or finally plenty of topics – all this by right could be fulfilled by Pliny alone.²

* The article is the result of my part of the research in the research program *The New Management of Knowledge in the Early Modern Period: The Transmission of Classical Latin Literature via Neo-Latin Commentaries*, directed by Karl Enenkel, and founded by the *Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research* (NWO). I would like to thank professor Karl Enenkel for his inspiring enthusiasm and invaluable feedback throughout my research.

¹ *Caii Plinii / Secundi / Naturalis Historiae / libri XXXVII. / Interpretatione et notis illustravit / Joannes Harduinus soc. Jesu. / jussu / Regis Christianissimi / Ludovici Magni, / in usum / serenissimi Delphini / Parisiis, / Apud Franciscum Muguët, Regis et Illustrissimi / Archiepiscopi Parisiensis Typographum. / MDCLXXXV [...].* 5 vols. See *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 315.

² Hardouin, "Dedicatio", fol. <+4> v: 'Sive Latini sermonis elegantiam, sive sententiarum majestatem, sive stili acumen, seu rerum denique uberem copiam desideres, unus omnium vicem praestare Plinius iure possit'.

And if for many scholars the compilation of Pliny was and still remains far from a model of elegant style or stylistic sharpness,³ for Hardouin he was one of the most important authentic ancient authors, along with Homer, Herodotus, Cicero, Vergil, and Horace (interestingly, Hardouin viewed the rest of the ancient classical Greeks and Romans as spurious).⁴

Hardouin the scholar and his commentary both embody an extraordinary phenomenon. On the one hand, Hardouin is the very last humanist to have the courage to comment on the entire *Natural History* (after his heroic deed, certain scholars commented only on certain of Pliny's books, but not on the entire work). On the other hand, Hardouin's edition is the apogee of the Renaissance and Early Modern studies on Pliny that were carried out over several decades, or even centuries, and conducted by many generations of previous scholars.

Hardouin gives a list of his predecessors in his dedication, paying tribute to each of them, including the scholars who rediscovered, revived, and corrected the monstrously corrupted text of the *Natural History*, and those who studied and explained anew Pliny's work; they are, in order of appearance in the text, Johannes Andreas, Ermolaus Barbarus, Sigismundus Gelenius, Beatus Rhenanus, Stephanus Aquaeus, Ferdinandus Nuñez de Guzman Pincianus, Jacobus Dalecampius, Philippus Beroaldus, M. Antonius Cocceius Sabellicus, Robertus de Valle, Raphael Volaterranus, Guillelmus Budaeus, Hadrianus Turnebus, Antonius Nebrissensis, Christophorus Longolius, and Claudius Salmasius.

In this article, I will focus on Pliny commentaries from the 15th–16th centuries as listed by Hardouin, especially commentators who worked not only on the text critical problems, but as well discussed and explained Pliny's zoological knowledge. As a case study for the analysis I will single out passages about elephants and bears from the eighth book of the *Natural History*. An elaborate description of elephants opens this book about terrestrial animals (*Natural History* VIII, 1–12, 1–34): 'they [elephants] are not only the biggest among the land animals, they are also closest

³ The famous quotation of Eduard Norden: 'Sein Werk gehört, stilistisch betrachtet, zu den schlechtesten, die wir haben. Man darf nicht sagen, daß der Stoff daran schuld war. [...] Plinius hat es einfach nicht besser gekonnt' (Norden E., *Antike Kunstprosa* (Stuttgart: 1995) 314), see also Bodson I., "La zoologie romaine d'après la NH de Pline", *Helmantica* 37 (1986) (107–116) 107–108; Healy J.F., *Pliny the Elder on Science and Technology* (Oxford: 1999) 79–81, 97, 99, 111 f.

⁴ For more, see Grafton A.T., *Bring out your Dead. The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge [MA]: 2001) 181–207 (chapter 10: "Jean Hardouin: The Antiquary as Pariah").

to humans with respect to their faculty of reason'.⁵ Renaissance scholars drew a similar parallel between humans and bears to whom Pliny devotes plenty of space.⁶

In modern culture, the tradition of commentaries has lost the place of honour it occupied in earlier times. Nowadays, any scientific edition of a classical text is usually accompanied by a commentary, but the commentary is seen as an auxiliary appendage to the ancient original; however, in their glory days, humanistic commentaries were works of art in terms of both content and design. Every detail played an important role: the organization of the source text and paratext, the way in which one commented, the topic selection, the level of authority practiced by the scholars, etc.

This paper will try to demonstrate how the commentators' reception of Pliny changed over time. It argues that not only did the scholars' educational backgrounds and the different goals of their works have an influence on their assessment of Pliny, but the boom in knowledge after the geographical explorations of the period made the authors' perception of Pliny's text more critical. I will provide evidence of the increased critical perception of Pliny by analyzing the following aspects: 1) the commentators' knowledge of the Greek language and their usage of the Greek sources in their work on the *Natural History*, 2) the commentators' expression of their own opinions, and their organization of the source text and annotations, 3) questioning of the original text, 4) quotations of other ancient and more recent texts, and 5) evidence of elephant or bear encounters increasing over time.

1. Marcantonio Cocci (Sabellico, 1436–1506)

When and where Sabellicus, one of the pupils of Pomponio Leto (†1498) and an older contemporary of Erasmus, wrote his *Annotationes* to Pliny the Elder is not exactly known, but some indirect evidence allows us to think that the book was composed around 1493, with the latest possible date being 1497, the year of the first printed edition.⁷ Thus, the commentary of

⁵ Fögen Th., "Pliny the Elder's Animals: Some Remarks on the Narrative Structure of *Nat. Hist.* 8–11", *Hermes* 135 (2005) (184–198) 185.

⁶ *Natural History* VIII, 54, 126–131.

⁷ See: *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 344–348. The main interest of Sabellicus, however, was the history of Venice. He wrote and published works in praise

Sabellicus was written practically at the same time as the illustrious *Castigationes* of Ermolao Barbaro, although the *Castigationes* was published first (1492/1493) and became at once a standard work for many subsequent generations of Pliny's editors. The publication of Sabellicus succeeded the *Castigationes* a few years later, together with his collection of notes on other classical Latin authors.⁸

The text of Sabellicus is based on a seminar on the *Natural History* that he ran for several years at the school of San Marco in Venice.⁹ Apparently, after a while Sabellicus turned back to his studies of Pliny: in the second dedication to his friend Giovanni Francesco Fortunio (first published in Venice in 1502, later reprinted several times),¹⁰ he mentions the additions to the first version and defends it against the attacks of an unknown critic that had been made in the meantime.

Sabellicus dedicates the first preface to his friend Domenico Grimani (1461–1523), an Italian humanist, Venetian churchman, Maecenas, and collector of art. In 1493 Grimani became cardinal of San Marco; as Sabellicus doesn't address Grimani as a cardinal, it may be suggested that the first commentary on Pliny was written before 1493. However, Grimani is called here 'eques' (knight), i.e. the honorary title he received in 1489 from Emperor Frederick III. Considering these two termini post et ante quem, it is possible to date Sabellicus' work on the commentary to the period from 1489 to 1493.

At the beginning of his dedication Sabellicus mentions that none of his predecessors corrected the entire text of Pliny's *Natural History*; in due

of the republic as well as a description of the city in three books and a dialogue on the Venetian magistrates (Venice, A. de Strata: 1489). His *opus magnum*, the universal history, was published in 1498 under the title *Enneades seu rhapsodiae historiarum* (Venice, B. dei Vitali). See further: Gilbert F., *Biondo, Sabellico, and the Beginnings of Venetian official historiography* (Toronto: 1971); Lee E., "Marcantonio Sabellico", in Bietenholtz P.G. – Deutscher T.B. (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vols. 1–3 (Toronto: 1985) vol. III, 181–182.

⁸ The earlier studies on Pliny, or rather on the famous inventor's catalogue in the seventh book of the *Natural History*, influenced an early poem in hexameters by Sabellicus, *De rerum et artium inventoribus* (Padua: 1483), written during his years in Rome, from the late 1460s until 1472. See further: Atkinson C., *Inventing Inventors in Renaissance Europe* (Tübingen: 2007) 42–43.

⁹ See the first dedication to the commentary, "Dedicatio ad Grimanum" 1: "Nos vero non quia plus virium quam illi haberemus: sed maiore quadam fiducia freti: tertio ab hinc anno Plynium eo consilio interpretandum suscepimus: ut non rerum solum: sed quantum in me esset omnis etiam verborum explicaretur ratio: fuit fateor certamen illud longe acerbius quam ab initio conceperam".

¹⁰ See the edition from 1502: "Ioannes Bembus Venetus Andreae Anixi Corcyraeo S.P.D. [...] (d.d. Venetiis M.DII. xi. Kal. Februarii) fol. <a 1> v.

course, the condition of the text makes you wish it had had a better fate.¹¹ Sabellicus even compares the text's damage with a war situation.¹² In spite of the difficulties, Sabellicus keeps working on his edition and feels the support of some colleagues and friends, primarily the Venetian humanist Antonius Moretus, who was closely associated with the printing trade and urged Sabellicus to prepare his text for the press.¹³

In the later editions, the commentary of Sabellicus is a part of his *Observationes* to various Latin authors¹⁴ and is accompanied by the second dedication to his friend Giovanni Francesco Fortunio (ca. 1470–1517), who had been visiting Venice since 1500. More than 300 passages from the ancient texts were organized by Sabellicus as his commentary, with indications of book and chapter numbers in the middle of a page so that a reader could easily orient himself in the material.¹⁵ Sabellicus sees his own achievement in the way in which he worked on Pliny's text: he referred only to the reliable (i.e. ancient) sources and corrected the questionable passages, not deleting them, but inserting his marginal remarks.¹⁶

Sabellicus comments on the whole text of Pliny's *Natural History* (from Book II until Book XXXVI), but he does so very briefly. However, in each lemma you can see how diligently and how deeply Sabellicus tries to understand and analyze the Plinian work. The main text of the commentary is divided according to the books and chapters of the *Natural History*; the lemmas inside, however, are not clearly marked. Sometimes the sequence of notes within the same book is out of order (e.g. for the VIIIth book: first comes a commentary on the Xth chapter, and then one

¹¹ Sabellico, "Dedicatio ad Grimanum" 1: 'Sed cum hanc quoque varie tractare dicaris quae te diutius in sui admiratione detineat prae naturali illa, quam Plynus sex et triginta complexus est voluminibus, audio esse nullam. Verum quo maiori illius studio teneris, eo te iniquius ferre certum habeo quod ex uberrima hac recentiorum hominum fruge nemo ad hunc extiterit, qui lectionem ipsam a vitio partim temporum iniquitate partim librorum inscitia contracto sit vindicare adortus'.

¹² Ibidem: 'At fuerunt qui sparsim paucissima quaedam velut in transcurso subnotarunt: fuitque illud intra hostium vallum iaculari: non statariam conserere pugnam'.

¹³ See *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 345.

¹⁴ Sabellico, "Dedicatio ad Fortunium", fol. c r: 'C. Plinius, Cicero, Annaeus Lucanus et qui Argonautica scripsit Flaccus'.

¹⁵ Ibidem: 'Quaeris quid actum sit? Tercentum et amplius locos in ordinem redigi: quos velut libello uno complexus ita digessi ut quoto quisque sit capite librove observatus facile cognosci possit'.

¹⁶ Ibidem: 'Quid quod in re tam tenui non solum non exquisito aliquo sum usus verborum fuco copiae orationis? Sed ne iudicium quidem ullum recens adhibui praesenti recognitioni omnia ad pristinam illam censuram referens satis credo tibi nota est verecunda illa professionis ratio in tuo Sabellico, qui in obscuris et ambiguis nihil mutat, nihil restituit nisi iudicio fretus et auctoritate: ubi utraque re laboratur asteriscum margini affigit'.

on the VIIth). Sabellicus compares Pliny's material with other ancient texts, both Greek and Latin, rarely giving the precise quotations but citing Greek texts in the original (which is very uncommon for commenting practices in the 15th century). At times the Greek scientific literature seems to be the greater authority for him than the text of Pliny, probably because he viewed those texts as Pliny's original sources.

The commentary of Sabellicus uncovers his "laboratory," or even the know-how of the commenting process. His goal is the preparation and explanation of Pliny's text for an easier understanding by the reader, from the point of view of both the emendation or correction of the text and the content.¹⁷ After matching different readings, Sabellicus reflects further on the realities in the passage. So in his first commentary on the elephants, he dwells on a story with leeches, a group of elephants accidentally swallowed some leeches while drinking, and the leeches, settling fast in the elephants' windpipes, caused them intolerable pain.¹⁸ First, Sabellicus must clean up the vulgata text, so he compares several manuscripts (cf. 'this many [manuscripts] have, [...] the oldest codex however [...]'); then he comes with his own conjecture, and explains it: 'However, "anime canali" is better, which means through which goes a breath, i.e. breathing. And in fact it is just as if two small canals or pipes were stretching down from the mouth [...].'¹⁹ He tries to proof his conjecture by a couple of Greek *auctoritates*: Plato; the physicians Philistion of Locri and Dioxippus; and the anatomist Erasistratus.²⁰ There is no sign, however, that Sabellicus had empirical knowledge of elephants.

The friendly, confidential tone of the second dedication, most likely inspired by the personality of Giovanni Francesco Fortunio, can be spotted in the elaborated version of the commentary as well. So Sabellicus,

¹⁷ Ibidem: 'Monetque lectorem videat an eo modo rectius legi possit'.

¹⁸ *Natural History* VIII, 10.

¹⁹ Sabellicus, *Annotationes*, fol. a 4 r: 'Haec ubi "in ipso amne canali" se fixit intolerando afficit dolore sic in multis: vetustior tamen codex "in ipso amne carnali". Sed "anime canali" melius, id est per quem meat anima, idest spiritus. Nam quum duae sint quasi canaliculae seu fistulae ab oris faucibus deorsum tendentes [...]'.
²⁰ Ibidem: 'Per earum unam Plato et Philistion Locrus et Dioxippus Hippocraticus humores pulmoni rigando fovendoque necessarios defluere crediderunt: hanc eandem esse τραχειαν αρτηριαν, idest asperam arteriam, vocant: per quam spiritus a summo ore in pulmonem atque inde rursus in os et in naris commeet: que Herasistratus medicus negaverit per asperam arteriam quicque potus aut cibi defluere. Sed illi aliter, ut dixi, statuerunt: ut sine cunctatione affirmare possis "animae canali" esse legendum: qua spiritus et potus commeet. Altera canalicula ea est: per quam esculenta omnia et, ut soli Herasistrato placuit, item et poculenta ad stomachum defluunt'.

for example, doesn't hesitate to address his friend for advice by choosing the right reading: '[...] This reading does not make sense. You, who are clever in this, take a look, if the reading "herbam supini in coelum iacentes veluti precibus" isn't better. [...] Weigh out the passage and take a decision, my friend'.²¹

The recognition of the Greek authorities, which Sabellicus shows throughout the whole commentary, also comes up in his note on the bears – or, better yet, on the absence of bears in Africa. The scholar agrees that in Pliny's time there were no longer any bears in Numidia, but there should have been some on the rest of the continent. As proof he brings up the testimony of Herodotus, who talks about bears among the other wild animals in Africa (IV, 191): 'If it is true, they can see it, because I wouldn't conceal, that Herodotus, the most industrious author in the African events, reports that in Libya there are also bears among a lot of various animals'.²²

The commentary of Sabellicus came into existence due to the author's lectures of the *Natural History*, and with respect to its conciseness it more closely resembles marginal notes than a sterling commentary. Nevertheless, it attracts us through the diligence and the horizons of its author. Sabellicus' wide reading of both Latin and Greek texts, his clarity of thought, and his tone, which is far from that of edification, allowed us to put this work on par with the other recognized humanistic authorities.²³

²¹ Sabellico, *Observationes*, fol. c 2 v: '[...] "per herbas supini in coelum iacentes veluti tellure precibus alligata". Ex quo verborum complexu nihil sequitur. Tu qui sapis perspice, an verior sit lectio "herbam supini in coelum iacentes veluti precibus", id est ad preces alligata: an nulla praeterquam uno loco mutatione facta ablegata potius malis legere. Expende locum et amice iudica. Nec illud contemnito, quod quinto capite legitur "miretur Aristophani gratam": vide an magis placeat "mire etiam Aristophani gratam".

²² Sabellico, *Annotationes*, fol. a 4 r: 'Miror adiectum Numidicos ursos, quum in Africa ursos non gigni constet. Haec Plinius. Verum si in Numidia tum ursos non generari dixisset, fuisset eius sententia adhuc aequius ferenda: at tota Africa ferae genituram exclusit. Quod an verum sit alii viderint. Illud non dissimulabo Herodotum rerum africanarum auctorem diligentissimum tradere lybiam inter multa et varia animalia ursos quoque alere'.

²³ Although Hardouin was more sceptical about his conjectures: 'In quibus [*Annotationibus*] sunt admodum pauca scite animadversa: cetera coniecturae omnino infelices'; cf. "Dedicatio", fol. <9>r.

2. Étienne Laigue (*Aquaeus*; †ca. 1537)

On the title page of his Pliny edition from 1530, *Aquaeus* calls himself *Bituricensis*, i.e. citizen of or born in Bourges, a city in central France, the capital of the department of Cher and of the former province of Berry, and the seat of an archbishop. In the French preface to the commentary (titled 'Extraict des registres de Parlement'), the author is presented as 'Estienne Laigue Escuyer, seigneur de Beauuays en Berry'. Since there is no date on the title page, the dating of the preface ('Le xvij. iour de Iuing. Mil cinq cens. xxx.'), which is repeated also at the end of the book) is usually taken as the year of publication. One year after the supposed date of the first publication, the commentary of *Aquaeus* was sharply criticized by Beatus Rhenanus in his short essay *Epistola ad D. Philippum Puchaimerum, de locis Plinii per St. Aquaeum attactis, ubi mendae quaedam eiusdem auctoris emaculantur, antehac non a quoquam animadversae*, which was published as an appendix to Beatus' *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* (Basel: 1531) (i.e. terminus ante quem).²⁴

Aquaeus dedicates his commentary to the famous Philippe de Chabot (ca. 1492–1543), Seignuer de Brion, Comte de Charny et Buzançois, also known as Admiral De Brion.²⁵ De Chabot got the positions mentioned in the dedication (admiral of France and governor of Burgundy) after the battle of Pavia in 1526, which could be the terminus post quem for *Aquaeus*'s study of Pliny.

Aquaeus talks about his own military past in the dedication and in his address to the reader, so he probably started his studies on the *Natural History* after his discharge.²⁶ His goal was 'to cleanse the text of Pliny and to insert commentaries to all books',²⁷ and he was not going to study

²⁴ See *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 381.

²⁵ "GENEROSISSIMO, AC ILLVSTRISSIMO DOMINO, Domino Philippo Chaboto, Franciae Admiralo, sive thalassiarcho, ac spectatissimo Burgundiae Moderatori, Stephanus Aquaeus. S.P.D." (*Aquaeus, Commentaria*, fol. ā ij r).

²⁶ *Aquaeus, Commentaria*, fol. ā ij v: '[...] me hominem triobolaris literaturae, et militia iamdudum obrutum'; ibidem, fol. ā ij r: 'Post autem Martios tumultus, ac rei militaris functiones, quibus me dudum addixi, mihi interdum licuit ad musas quietiores redire, in quarum amoenulo diversorio agens, commentariolos in Plinⁱum> cudere institui, ac locos aliquot repurgare'.

²⁷ Ibidem: 'Operae precium me profecto facturum sum arbitratus, si huic, quod tandiu caligiae obiectum fuerit, tandiuque obscuratum, aliquid lucis viderer adtulisse, hoc est, Plinianam lectionem repurgasse, ac omnibus Plinii libris commentaria indidisse'.

separate sentences, but entire explanations.²⁸ As his predecessors in this field Aquaeus primarily mentions Ermolao Barbaro and Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), who actually never did an edition of Pliny, but used some excerpts from the *Natural History* for his essay about ancient coins, which had a high value among other humanists.²⁹

After the profound *Index in uniuersum commentariorum C. Plinii Naturalis Historiae opus*,³⁰ each chapter of the *Natural History* (beginning with Book II), is followed by Aquaeus's commentary. Furthermore, there are also marginal remarks that convey in key words the content of the passage and thus help the reader with orientation in the text. The same idea regarding better orientation in the commentary is conveyed through the use of majuscules when quoting Pliny, so that the reader could notice his passages right away.

The style of the whole, rather extensive commentary seems to imitate an incessant conversation about Pliny's text, as if Aquaeus is holding a speech in front of his audience. He usually begins with the very first phrase from the studied book and then continues, commenting on its context but not on individual words or sentences. The parts of the commentary are connected with short remarks that bring us back to Pliny's text.³¹ Besides, Aquaeus is inclined to exaggerate the esteem of Pliny and the other classical authors (primarily Aristotle): he likes to use a lot of superlatives.

Commenting on Pliny's text, Aquaeus consults the other ancient sources, both the Greek (in spite of his knowledge of the Greek language, he cites them always in the Latin translation, probably thinking of his reader) and the Latin; as a result, his own text resembles a kind of "association-commentary". Several passages with separate Greek words or even sentences in them confirm his familiarity with the Greek language. For example, Aquaeus seems to feel obliged to rewrite the words of an educated elephant who was able to write with he feet in the sand – which Pliny quoted in Latin – in Greek: 'He [Pliny] says that the elephant had learned the Greek characters, so in Greek they should be this way: αὐτὸς

²⁸ 'Non profecto in interprete phrasis sed integra interpretatio perpendenda est' (Aquaeus: 1530, fol. ā ij r).

²⁹ Aquaeus, *Commentaria*, fol. ā ij r: 'Quamvis non me lateret viros cum singulari ingenio, tum exactissima doctrina insignes, locos aliquot deluxatos, ac improbatae lectionis emendasse. In quorum albo Hermo<laus> Bar<barus> fuit. Budaeus item noster, homo extra omnem (quod de Cicerone dictum est) ingenii aleam positus'. Aquaeus refers to Budé's work *De Asse et partibus eius* (s. l. 1514).

³⁰ 26 pages.

³¹ E.g. 'and Pliny adds' / 'et subnectit Plinius'; 'then Pliny says' / 'Plinius deinde ait', etc.

ἐγὼ τὰ δε ἔγραψα λάφυρατε κέλτ' ἀνέθικα [...].³² For the hiding place/lair of bears, Aquaeus adds the Greek word as well: 'Then it wouldn't hurt to remark that the hiding place of bears in Greek is φωλιάμ, i.e. "pholiam"'.³³ On the other hand, Aquaeus cites his favourite author, Aristotle, only in the Latin translation by Theodor Gaza, and in this way avoids any additional discussions, e.g. about the name of the month Elaphebolion³⁴ so argued over by other scholars; following Gaza's translation he simply calls this month 'February': 'The bears' intercourse is mentioned by Aristotle in the sixth book of the History of animals, in the 30th chapter. [...] The bear copulates in the month of February'.³⁵

Numerous ancient parallel texts demonstrate the commentator's wide reading. Some notes are just bibliographical references, as in the case with Aquaeus's comment on the Mauritanian king Bocchus: 'This is the king, whom Strabo mentions in the fifteenth book; Livy in book 66; Sallust in the *Jugurthine War*; Plutarch in the [*Life of*] *Marius*; Silius [Italicus] in the third book'.³⁶

Of all the classical authors, Aristotle retains the most authority for Aquaeus. When Aristotle's information contradicts that of Pliny, Aquaeus pretends not to notice it. Commenting on a passage in which Pliny refers to the elephants' good swimming ability (*Natural History* VIII, 5,11), Aquaeus cites Aristotle (*Historia animalium* A 9, 46 630b26, etc.), but doesn't correct Aristotle's mistaken assumption that the elephants couldn't swim: 'Aristotle in the ninth book of the History of animals wrote that the elephants like rivers [...] but it cannot swim well because of the body's weight, he [reports] (i.e. Aristotle)'.³⁷ On the other hand, when quoting Flavius Philostratus, Aquaeus registers: 'Apollonius of Tyana contradicts Pliny on the

³² Aquaeus, *Commentaria*, fol. <C>r: 'Graecas literas didicisse elephantum ait hic, graece enim hae erant, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τὰ δε ἔγραψα λάφυρατε κέλτ' ἀνέθικα, quae latine sonant, ipse ego haec scripsi spoliisque celtica dicavi'.

³³ Ibidem, fol. <CX>v: 'Porro non obfuerit hic annotasse latebram ursorum Grecis dici φωλιάμ hoc est pholiam'.

³⁴ Aristotle, *Historia animalium* VI, 30, 579a18.

³⁵ Aquaeus, *Commentaria*, fol. <CX>v: 'Meminit ursorum coitus Aristoteles sexto de historia animalium, cap<ite> trigesimo: Ursi, inquit, coeunt humi strati. Fert uterum dies triginta ursa, parit tum unum, tum etiam duos, sed complurimum quinque. Foetum minimum pro sui corporis portione aedit. [...] Coit mense februario. Parit eo tempore quo latet [...]'.
³⁶ Ibidem, fol. <C>v: 'Hic est rex, cuius meminit Strabo, libro decimo quinto, et Livius, libro lxvi. Salustius in Jugurth., Plutarchus in Mario; Sylius, libro tertio'.

³⁷ Ibidem: 'Amnes amare elephantos Aristoteles nono de animalium historia scriptum reliquit: "amat amnes [sc. Elephantus]", inquit, "et quamvis animal non sit aquatile, tamen riparium dici potest. Incedit etiam per aquam et eatenus mergitur quatenus eius

ability of the elephants to swim across the river, as Philostratus tells us in the second book of his *Life [of the Vita Apollonii]* etc'.³⁸

For Aquaeus, the literary tradition seems to be the only way to become familiarized with nature: discussing the size of elephants in India and Africa, Aquaeus prefers to keep the ancient (and false) statement that Indian elephants are bigger than African ones: 'Philostratus reports about the elephants' magnitude in the second book [of the *Vita Apollonii*] the following: and the Indian elephants are as much bigger than those of Libya, as these are bigger than the horses of Nisa'.³⁹ Apparently he never had the chance to compare these animals in real life, or at least to appeal to a more recent source about them. That Aquaeus never saw an elephant in real life is confirmed by the fact that he discusses Pliny's sentence 'The elephants chew and eat their meal with their mouth, but they breathe, drink, and smell with their trunk' but doesn't correct its wrong content. And finally, despite or maybe due to his admiration of Barbaro's work, Aquaeus himself doesn't seem to have a big interest in correcting Pliny's text. He emendates the text only very rarely and without any additional explanation.⁴⁰

3. *Zikmund Hrubý z Jelení* (*Sigismundus Gelenius*, ca. 1497–1554)

Even if the commentaries of both Gelenius and Pintianus (see below) could be sources for a separate study, their goals are very much alike, which allowed us to put them together in one subsection. These works consist primarily of emendations and conjectures regarding the textual problems in Pliny's text. As a proofreader Gelenius most likely already assisted Erasmus in the preparation of his edition of the *Natural History*, which was published by the Froben press in 1525, but Erasmus never produced a commentary.⁴¹ In any case, this edition seems to have become

proboscis superat. Reflat enim per eam et spiritum recipit et reddit; sed natare satis pondere sui corporis non potest". Haec ille'.

³⁸ Ibidem.

³⁹ Ibidem, fol. <CI>v: 'Philostratus, libro secundo de magnitudine elephantorum sic agit. Quanto equo Nyseo maior est Libycus elephas, tanto libycis maiores elephantessunt Indici'.

⁴⁰ For example ibidem: 'Selling corollas: [should be] Coronas' – 'Corollas vendentem: Coronas'.

⁴¹ About Erasmus and Pliny's *Natural History*, see *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 312.

a model for Gelenius, together with the edition by Ermolao Barbaro.⁴² The dedication of Erasmus from his 1525 edition accompanied the commentary of Gelenius from the beginning. Apparently both Erasmus and Gelenius proceeded from the idea that the *Natural History* was not just another ancient work but a thesaurus of the most important facts: 'In reality it is not a work, but a thesaurus, but truly a world of all kind of things worthy to know'.⁴³

But without the studies of the most intelligent scholars, this thesaurus would be lost to subsequent generations, and among those scholars Erasmus praises first of all, of course, Ermolao Barbaro,⁴⁴ and then he mentions the merits of Guillaume Budé,⁴⁵ Nicolas Bérauld (Beraldus), who published in Paris in 1516 his compilation of many textual contributions to the text of the *Natural History* made by Sabellico, Beroaldo, Raffaello Volterrano, Christophe Longueil,⁴⁶ and Johannes Caesarius.⁴⁷ Gelenius must have also read these works while working on his commentary, but in his preface, dedicated to Damianus a Goes, he discusses them only indirectly.⁴⁸

The commentary of Gelenius covers the whole text of the *Natural History*. His edition contains a full scale alphabetical index (made by Johannes

⁴² 'Haud facile erat, Damiane optime, post Hermolaum super historia Pliniana annotanti, impudentiae arrogantiae opinione evadere, si primus tale aliquid attentassem' (Gelenius: 1535, fol. aaa). Gelenius probably calls his commentary *Castigationes* after the title of Ermolao Barbaro's work (fol. aaa v).

⁴³ 'Imo non opus est, sed thesaurus, sed vere mundus rerum omnium cognitu dignarum' (Erasmus, "Dedication" 1525, in Gelenius 1535, fol. A 2 r).

⁴⁴ 'Perierat nobis hoc divinum munus, ni certatim a summis ingeniis advigilatum esset, ut ex ruinis pene deploratis orbi renascerent. Inter hos prima citra controversiam laus debetur Hermolao Barbaro, non tantum ob id quod primus omnium facinus longe pulcherrimum ausus sit aggredi, verum etiam quod caeterorum nemo unus plura restituerit' (Erasmus, "Dedication" 1525, in Gelenius: 1535, fol. A 2 r).

⁴⁵ 'Ac ne longum texam catalogon, inter plurimus qui Barbari exemplum sunt aemulati, non instrennuam operam hic nobis nauauit Guilelmus Budaues, vir praeter absolutam eruditionem, exquisitae diligentiae' (Erasmus, "Dedication" 1525, in Gelenius: 1535, fol. A 2 r).

⁴⁶ 'Post hunc Nicolaus Beraldus, homo supra peritiam humanarum literarum Mathematices etiam pulchre callens, quodque hic vel praecipuum erat, sani iudicii, non minore studio quoque religione versatus est in hoc labore (Erasmus, "Dedication" 1525, in Gelenius: 1535, fol. A 2 r). About this edition, see *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 312.

⁴⁷ 'Nuper omnium postremus Ioannes Caesareus in omni genere literarum exercitissimus, non infelicem operam praestitit. Atque horum omnium quidem industriae debemus, quod Plinium habemus multo quam antehac emendatiorem' (Erasmus, "Dedication" 1525 in Gelenius: 1535, fol. A 2 r).

⁴⁸ 'Nunc posteaquam eruditorum aliquot in hoc genere lucubrationes magno applausu exceptas video, non opinor ullis apologiis opus, quod quae pro parte virili animadverti ipse quoque studiosis communico' (Gelenius: 1535, fol. aaa r).

Camers) and a separate index of geographical names.⁴⁹ The commentary on the singular books, called *Castigationes*,⁵⁰ is a solid text divided into books ('Ex libro [...]') and chapters ('cap. I', etc.); the lemmata start with quotations of Pliny's text, are marked by closed brackets. Notable are some separate words in Greek, showing the new phase of Early Modern commentaries in which the Greek scientific literature starts playing an important role. While Aquaeus five years earlier cited the Greek authors only in Latin translation, Gelenius uses the Greek quotations, which helps to create more authority.

In his study on Pliny Gelenius stays true to the principles he followed while editing the other ancient authors, i.e. in the first place he based his text on a *collatio* of the oldest manuscripts: 'We offer not our findings [i.e. conjectures]', he says, 'but Pliny's readings restored from the oldest manuscripts'.⁵¹ He generally followed the *consensus* of the best manuscripts; if he chose a different reading, it had to be evidently better. Only then he would be ready to change the vulgate text.⁵² In accordance with his main aim to primarily consult the oldest manuscripts of Pliny, Gelenius in his commentary doesn't often use the parallels from the other ancient authors, and above all – in contrast with his predecessors – doesn't refer to Aristotle. In this Gelenius stays true to his principle that only a correct and trustworthy text could function as an authoritative base for knowledge. However, the manuscripts sometimes don't give the right answer either, so Gelenius makes a decision about some of the readings that issue from personal experience and gut feeling, which shows a high level of self-consciousness.⁵³ Sometimes, with the purpose of confirming the

⁴⁹ Joannes Camers, *Plinianus index*, 2 vols. (Vienna, Pannonius: 1514). Gelenius's edition: 'Index in C. Plinii Secundi Naturalem Historiam, ad exemplum Io. Camertis, mutatis quibusdam quae ad hanc aeditionem non congruebant, nonnullis etiam adiectis: Elenchus in XXXVII Plinianae Historiae Libros, in quo cuiusvis animantis, plantae, aut metallicaee speciei naturam ac vires medicas, & si quid praeterea cognitu utile iucundum' ve, per ordinem alphabeti notasque arithmeticas, primo paginas, mox versus indicantes, facile reperias (Gelenius: 1535, fol. a 2 r ff.); 'Indicis pliniani pars secunda geographica continens' (Gelenius: fol. A ff.).

⁵⁰ The whole title is: *Sigismundi Gelenii Castigationes ex vetustorum archetyporum collatione, in aliquamulta Pliniani operis loca, ab aliis antea parum animaduversa*.

⁵¹ 'Nos non nostra in medium proponimus, sed Pliniana ex vetustissimis archetypis revocata adferimus' (Gelenius: 1535, fol. aaa).

⁵² Gelenius: 1535, fol. aaa.

⁵³ 'Sunt autores, ipsa complente decimum mensem duos parere, nunc raro geminos.) Haec lectio nihili est, Plinius longe aliud scripsit. Sunt autores, ipso complente decimum mensem die parere. Gignunt raro geminos' (Gelenius: 1535, *Castigationes*, ex libro octavo, cap. XLV).

better reading along with the principle of *collatio*, Gelenius adds some cross-references to other Plinian passages:

Indicis Arabici minores] Old manuscripts: 'Indis arant minores'. Above, in the nineteenth chapter of the sixth book, he (Pliny) said about the usage of elephants by Indians: 'Iis arant, iis invehuntur'. Furthermore, he doesn't mention Arabia in the eleventh chapter of this book, speaking about the places where they (sc. elephants) are born [...].⁵⁴

or he uses the principle of analogy, like in the example about the 'pyrrhic dance' (i.e. a kind of war dance invented by the god Pyrrhichus) of elephants, which appears for the first time in the 1545 edition.⁵⁵

Suddenly, a commentary by Gelenius seems to rise above the Plinian dry remark – nearly to the level of a rich philosophical abstraction – almost humanizing the bears. According to Gelenius, the bears imitate the humans by creeping down backward from the trees. Since the bears hardly have the chance to watch humans creeping down from trees, most likely what is at issue here is another analogy, allowing the reader to easily imagine the way a bear moves down from a tree. Besides, this lemma could be evidence of the first humanistic attempts to scientifically reflect upon the information of Pliny:

Arborem adversi diripiunt] It is nice also this way, but who did it ever see this written or depicted? So it should be read how it is in the most old manuscripts: 'arborem adversi derepunt', i.e. not bowing but with the hind legs first while the front legs support the mass of the body in an effort not to fall down. This is obvious for everybody who once watched a bear climbing down from tree. This way they also imitate the human, against the usual habit of quadrupeds. That perfectly connects with the above: "Ingrediuntur et bipedes" ("They rise also on two legs").⁵⁶

Gelenius' commentary shows his rich experience as a proofreader, editor, and translator of classical texts, and his excellent knowledge of the classical

⁵⁴ 'Indicis Arabici minores] Veteres codices: Indis arant minores, Supra quoque, libri sexti cap. XIX., de elephantorum apud Indos usu, dixit: 'Iis arant, iis invehuntur'. Adhoc cap. huius lib. XI docens ubi nascantur, Arabiae non meminit' (Gelenius: 1535, Castigationes VIII, cap. I).

⁵⁵ Gelenius: 1535, Castigationes VIII, cap. II.

⁵⁶ 'Arborem adversi diripiunt] Bellum et hoc, sed quis unquam id vidit saltem scriptum aut pictum: Legendum igitur quemadmodum habent magno consensu vetusti codices: arborem adversi derepunt: hoc est non proni, sed posterioribus primum pedibus, anterioribus interim molem corporis sustentantes ne ruant: id quod notum est omnibus, qui modo vel semel ursum ab arbore descendentem viderunt. Atque in hoc quoque hominem imitantur, praeter morem quadrupedum. Quamobrem pulchre cohaeret cum eo quod proxime praecedit: Ingrediuntur et bipedes' (Gelenius: 1535, Cast. Ex libro octavo, cap. XXXVI).

languages; his work with manuscripts evokes discreet praise by Hardouin: 'Gelenius offers the Plinian reclaims from two preserved manuscripts, and even if there are not so many (reclaims), they are good enough'.⁵⁷ However, after the first publication in 1535 by the Froben press, Gelenius' edition became one of the most authoritative and most frequently reprinted works on Pliny of its century.⁵⁸

4. *Fernando Núñez de Guzmán (Ferdinandus Pintianus,*
ca. 1475–ca. 1553)

In 1544, less than ten years after the first publication of Gelenius' commentary, the Spanish scholar Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán, better known as Ferdinandus Pintianus, refers in his *Observationes*⁵⁹ to the Basel edition of Pliny from 1539 published by the Froben publishing house – i.e. the reprinted edition of Gelenius – as the model for his own edition.⁶⁰ Just as they were for Gelenius and Pintianus, Erasmus and Ermolao Barbaro were de Guzmán's greatest authorities during his work on Pliny's text.⁶¹ However, his reasons for commenting on the *Natural History* were completely different. While Gelenius prepared Pliny's text for publication by the Froben press as an armchair scientist, Pintianus started his extensive

⁵⁷ 'Pliniana Gelenius ex conditivis duobus libris revocata affert, nec multa illa tamen, sed satis proba' (Dedic. fol. <7>).

⁵⁸ About this commentary, see *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 386–390.

⁵⁹ This title is in edition 1593 but not in edition 1547: *IN C. PLINII / HISTORIAE NATURALIS / LIBROS OMNES, / FERDENANDI PINTIANI, / UTRISQUE LINGUAE IN ACADEMIA / SALMANTICENSI PROFESSORIS, / OBSERVATIONES / ERUDISSIMAE, / in quibus, post Hermolaum Barbarum et alios, partim antiquorum exemplarium calamo exarratorum fide, partim veterum scriptorum auctoritate fretus, nonnunquam etiam ex ingenio, Plinium mendis innumerabilibus repugavit: et obiter locos non paucos in utriusque linguae auctoribus a nemine animaduersos, vel castigavit vel exposuit. Ex Typographeio Hieronymi Commellini, M D XCIII*. This edition also contains an appendix with the commentaries of Beatus Rhenanus.

⁶⁰ 'Eum verborum contextum, eamque capitum distinctionem me secutum, quae habetur in codicibus Basileae excusis a Ioanne Frobenio, anno M. D. XXXIX. reliquorum omnium quos in hodiernum legerim longe emendatissimis' (Pint.: 1593, fol. <* iij v>).

⁶¹ 'Ad quam difficultatem accessit et altera, quod in priore repurgando elaboratum mihi est post Erasmum, in duobus posterioribus post Hermolaum, celeberrimos nostrae memoriae in litteris viros. Ad quorum scripta nihil addi potui ita doctum, accuratum, excultum, quod non cum illis collatum sorderesceret' (Pint.: 1593, fol. * ij r– <* ij > v).

commentary as a professor of Greek and rhetoric at the University of Salamanca, where he had worked since 1523.⁶²

The edition of the *Natural History* contains three volumes: the first two, covering the books II–XI and XII–XXV, were published in 1544, and the third, with the books XXVI–XXXVI, appeared one year later. All three volumes have dedicatory epistles addressed to Francisco de Bobadilla, bishop of Coria, each with a reply; only the last letter is dated, with the date given as 9 February 1545. In the prefaces, Pintianus explains his path to Pliny the Elder – first via studying and teaching about Lucius Annaeus Seneca and Pomponius Mela (here he again followed Ermolao Barbaro).⁶³ All three texts were in very bad condition, which gave Pintianus the idea that new emendations were necessary.⁶⁴ Like his predecessors, Pintianus chose collatio of the best available manuscripts as a main principle of his work, and in particular he selected two archetypes which in the end made his commentary one of the biggest authorities until our time.⁶⁵ His two principal codices are still a part of the modern textual tradition: codex Salmanticensis and codex Toletanus.⁶⁶

The text of the commentary itself is very well organized: it is divided into two columns on a page, the lemmata are marked out with punctuation and brackets, between several lemmata in the same chapter there is a special delimitative mark, and quotations from other authors or readings from manuscripts are set off in italics. Pintianus gives the entire titles of the ancient works without abbreviations.

⁶² Pintianus descends from the family of an official at the royal court. He became a member of the military order in Santiago, but then he devoted himself to study ancient literature; one of his teachers in Bologna was the famous Filippo Beroaldo the Elder. For the biography of Pintianus, see *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 394–395, and *Historical Dictionary of the Renaissance* 354.

⁶³ His notes on Seneca were published in Basel by Erasmus and Matthaeus Fortunatus in 1529, and his *Castigationes* in Pomponium Melam in Salamanca in 1543.

⁶⁴ 'De reliquo cupienti mihi etsi maiore animo quam viribus in hac etiam studiorum parte literis iam pridem ruinam minantibus subvenire, tres mihi ex omni antiquorum albo auctores forte obtigere; Seneca philosophus, Pomponius geographus, Plinius cunctarum naturae rerum scriptor: eminentissimi illi quidem in sua quisque facultate, sed dura quadam mea pariter & illorum conditione, longe omnium mendis inquinatissimi, ac fere animam agentes' (Pint.: 1593, fol. <* ij> r).

⁶⁵ 'In tanto igitur auctore, si fieri posset, restituendo, quosunque labores, curas, sollicitudines, optime locatas existimantes, in omnia eius volumina, praeter ultimum, quod penuria antiqui exemplaris attingere visum non est, observationes composuimus, collata vulgari lectione cum duobus archetypis: altero semivetere bibliothecae Salmanticensis Academiae: altero vetustissimo, & multis in locis quam emendatissimo, ex Aede divae Mariae Toletanae nuper ad nos allato' (Pint.: 1593, fol. <* ij> v).

⁶⁶ T and s in the Budé edition of Pliny; Paris: 1950, 31–32.

Along with the collatio of several manuscripts, Pintianus uses some editions by his predecessors, primarily Ermolao Barbaro but also Antonius Constantius Fanensis (Antonio Constanzo da Fano, 1436–1490). Pintianus refers to his *Centuria* as if there were a commentary on the *Natural History*, but no such work has been located.⁶⁷ This dialogue with “colleagues” demonstrates Pintianus’ active interest in the intellectual life of his time and defines a new level of self-perception. However, even the authoritative standard edition of Barbaro doesn’t always give the right solution. Pintianus finds the answer in Antiquity itself:

EX CAP. IIII. *Iras prostare, nec calcare, sed erutum proximo tradere*] Constantius Fanensis writes not ‘erutum’, but ‘cretum’, [thus] attributing a less common sense to Pliny’s words, as it feels to me, while the Roman [copy], and the other copies, and the codex from Salamanca have ‘erutum’. Hermolaus [edits] also ‘erutum’, [which is] actually the proper reading, but [in the context it is] meaningless and thus wrong. Like in most cases, the copy of Toledo allows here ‘erutum’. However, the meaning of these words can be found in Aelian, in the first book of [his] *De natura animalium*, where he says the following about elephants: ‘Tum etiam sagacissime odorantur [...]. Is simulac olfecerit, barritum vastum edens, quasi signum ad fugam dat’.⁶⁸

It is notable that here Pintianus quotes Aelian in Latin; he does the same with the passages of Aristotle:

⁶⁷ See *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 417. Although this humanist left several odes, epigrams, letters, speeches, and his most known commentary on Ovid’s *Fasti*, which he published together with Paulus Marsus (1436–1484) in Paris, de Gourmont, in 1510. See also Zeleny K., *Die Göttin Hekate in den Historiae deorum gentilium des Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus* (Basel 1548). *Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rezeption Hekates in humanistischen Handbüchern und Kommentaren des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Diplomarbeit) (Vienna: 1999) 19, 30, 32 [online: www.oeaw.ac.at/kal/mythos/zeleny1999.pdf].

⁶⁸ ‘EX CAP. IIII. *Iras prostare, nec calcare, sed erutum proximo tradere*] Constantius Fanensis non erutum, hic sed cretum scribit, sensum Plinianis verbis accommodans parum, ut sentio, congruentem, cum tamen et Romana et caetera impressa exemplaria, et Salmanticensis item codex erutum habeant. Hermolaus quoque erutum, propius veram lectionem, sed sensu inepto et falso. Apogr. Tolet. eximie hic, ut in plerisque omnibus, derutum, agnoscit. Petendusque est sensus horum verborum ab Aeliano, libro *De natura animalium* primo, ubi de Elephantis ad hunc modum disserit: Tum etiam sagacissime odorantur, tum acerrimis sensibus existunt, tum vero ex his partim antegredientes, partim subsequentes ordinatim eunt. Atque horum primus narium sagacitate herbam ante pedes suos positam, sentiens humanis vestigiis esse transitam, eam evellit, et ei qui a tergo proximus odorandam tradit. Is rursus alteri qui post eum stat, ac deinceps per omnium quasi manus sagaciter corectatur, quoad ad illum ipsum qui extremum agmen ducit, peruentum fuerit. Is simulac olfecerit, barritum vastum edens, quasi signum ad fugam dat’ (Pint.: 1593, 41).

EX CAP. V. **Initur autem biennio**] It seems, it should be written, 'Initur a triennio', i.e. after the three years, [which is] from Aristotle, the fifth book of *De historia animalium*, chapter xiii. He says: 'Coitum triennio interposito repetit'. However, I didn't overlook that Solin nevertheless read 'biennio'.⁶⁹

Since Pintianus was teaching Greek literature at the university, it could be that the Latin translation of Aelian in his commentary was made by himself.⁷⁰ However, Aristotle's text Pintianus gives always in the translation by Theodoro Gaza.⁷¹ Aristotle seems to be Pintianus's primary authority for zoological questions:

EX CAP. XXXVI. **Eorum coitus hiemis initio**] Aristotle tells in the 30th chapter of the Sixth Book that the bears copulate in the month "Elaphibolione". Theodorus translates it as 'February'. So if we trust the translation of Theodorus, who is particular in such considerations, then Pliny writes it here badly, that the bears copulate at the beginning of the winter, because February would be the end, not the beginning, of the winter, [which is confirmed by Varro in the 28th chapter of the First Book *De re rustica*. Indeed, it is reasonable that the most animals become aroused during the lustful spring, testifies Aristotle in the eighth chapter of the Fifth Book of *De historia animalium*.⁷²

In addition to Aristotle and Aelian as his main sources (for zoology), Pintianus addresses other classical authors both Greek and Latin (e.g. Herodotus, Strabo, Livy, Varro, Florus, Orosius, Eutropius, Seneca, Oppianus). He used them to find better variant readings, but also in order to offer cross-references to Pliny's text:

EX CAP. VI. **Centum quadraginta duo fuere**] It should be added from both manuscripts, 'Aut ut quidam, centum quadraginta'. This way also in the following chapter: 'Pugnauere in circo xx. aut ut quidam tradunt, xvii'. On

⁶⁹ EX CAP. V. 'Initur autem biennio.) Scribendum videtur, Initur a triennio, hoc est post triennium exactum, ex Aristotele, volumine De historia animalium quinto, capite xiii. Coitum, inquit, triennio interposito repetit. Nec me fugit in Solino biennio etiam legi' (Pint.: 1593, 41).

⁷⁰ The most famous Latin translation of Aelian's works made Conrad Gesner, but it was published after the commentary of Pintianus (Ἀλιανοῦ τὰ ἐυρισκόμενα ἅπαντα. Opera quae extant omnia, graece latinique e regione, edita [...] cura et opere Conradi Gesneri his accedit index alphabeticus. Tiguri apud Gesneros fratres, 1556).

⁷¹ Editio princeps at Venice, Iohannes de Colonia et Iohannes Manthen: 1476.

⁷² EX CAP. XXXVI. 'Eorum coitus hiemis initio] Aristoteles libro vi. cap. xxx. coire ursos tradit mense Elaphibolione. Theodorus 'Februarium' vertit. Si igitur Theodori translationi credimus in re praesertim peculiaris illi commentationis, male hic Plinius coire hiemis initio ursos scribit, cum Februarius finis sit hiemis, non initium, Varrone auctore libro primo de re rustica, cap. xxviii. Et sane maior animalium pars in venerem excitatur appetente vere, teste Aristot. libro v. De historia animalium cap. viii' (Pint.: 1593, 45).

the number of those elephants, the authors disagree with each other: Livy tells in the epitome of the Nineteenth Book, they were a hundred twenty. L. Florus in the Second Book reports [they were] about a hundred. Paulus Orosius in the Fourth Book [tells of] a hundred four. Eutropius, a hundred thirty. Seneca [writes] in the Book *De breuitate vitae* [about] a hundred twenty, like Livy.⁷³

Pintianus feels confident enough with the Latin text of the *Natural History* and doesn't hesitate to offer his own emendations when manuscripts or other sources do not solve the problem. However, in this case he always cross-references Pliny.⁷⁴ Pintianus' corrections, though, were criticized by Hardouin, and they were not adopted by the modern textual tradition.⁷⁵

5. Jacques Daléchamps (*1513–†1588)

At the end of the 16th century there appeared one of the most influential subsequent commentaries on the *Natural History*, the extensive work of Daléchamps. Daléchamps was a famous botanist and physician in his time. In 1545–1547 he studied medical botany at the University of Montpellier under the professor of medicine Guillaume Rondelet (1507–1566). After spending several years in Grenoble and Valence, in 1552 Daléchamps came to Lyon, where he worked as a physician at the Hôtel-Dieu until his

⁷³ EX CAP. VI. 'Centum quadraginta duo fuere] Adde ex utroque exemplari, Aut ut quidam, centum quadraginta. Sic capite sequenti, Pugnavere in circo xx. aut ut quidam tradunt, xvii. Verum de numero horum elephantorum parum sibi auctores constant. Livius in epitome libri deciminoni, cxx. fuisse tradit. L. Florus libro secundo, centum circiter afferit. Paulus Orosius libro quarto, ciiii. Eutropius, cxxx. Seneca in libro de breuitate vitae, cxx.cum Livio' (Pint.: 1593, 41).

⁷⁴ EX CAP. VIII. 'Antea domitandi gratia greges equitatu cogeant in convallem] Scribo contra omnia exemplaria, Antea militandi gratia, reges equitatu cogeant in convallem. Probant fere hanc correctionem verba quae infra habentur cap. x. Domiti militat, et tures armatorum in hostes ferunt. Est igitur increpatio morum: antea militandi gratia, nunc dentium, ad delitias. // Cuius inclusos ripis fossisque fame domabant] Lego euripis, non ripis. ut capite praecedente: Qua de causa Caesar dictator postea simile spectaculum (sic!) editurus, euripis arenam circumdedit' (Pint.: 1593, 42).

⁷⁵ Usus est MSS. duobus, Salmanticensi, et Toletano: 'probatis illis quidem, sed mutilis magna ex parte, ac truncis. Contulit cum Plinio e priscis auctoribus aliquos: sed ita ut neque Graecos sua lingua consulverit, (id quod de Dioscoride in primis animadvertimus), et ad ceterorum mentem Pliniana saepe scripta torqueat, textumque plane invertat, cum expedire se aliter nequit, nodumque scindat, cui solvendo, se non esse parem intelligit, audaci magis quam laudando conatu. Fateri tamen illum necesse est, vel paulo, quam Barbarus fuit, religiosiorem fuisse, qui coniecturas suas Pliniano operi sponte non inserverit: vel haud aequè instructum ab amicis, quibus inventa sua sic probaret, ut ea in contextum adderent' (Hard. fol. i ij).

death.⁷⁶ He had a wide correspondence with the brightest minds of his time,⁷⁷ and throughout his medical practice he worked hard on his publications: *Chirurgie françoise* (Lyon: 1570), translations of Galen in French (Lyon: 1572) and of Athenaeus in Latin (Lyon: 1583), and his *opus magnum*, the *Historia generalis plantarum* (Lyon: 1586), a botanical study in two volumes with more than 2000 illustrations and 3000 descriptions of plants.

This interest in medical botany brought Daléchamps to his study of Pliny and at the same time determined his main goal for it. As a physician and botanist he evaluates his faculties to modestly resolve the linguistic and textual problems in the *Natural History*, and secondarily regards the achievements of his famous predecessors in this field: '[...] the Italian Barbaro, the Spaniard Pincianus, the German Gelenius, and my countryman Turnèbe already took up this work and did it promptly and successfully'.⁷⁸ Daléchamps saw his primary mission as the elucidation of the scientific material in Pliny's text.⁷⁹ Daléchamps' clear statement of editorial priorities also serves this goal – he introduces a completely new organization of text and paratext: now, the commentary is not following the source text in a kind of explanatory appendix, but is incorporated into it. Daléchamps divides Pliny's text not only into books, but also into chapters using the headings from the first book of the *Natural History*, and he places his *Annotationes* after each section. In this way, he 'marks a clear division between Pliny's text and his own annotations'.⁸⁰ The variant readings as a prototype of the modern apparatus criticus accompany each chapter as marginal notes. While he pays homage to his predeces-

⁷⁶ About Daléchamps and the University of Montpellier, see the article by Charles B. Schmitt in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 533–553.

⁷⁷ For the correspondence of Dalecampius with Guillaume Rondelet, Conrad Gesner, Josef Justus Scaliger, Robert Constantin, Jean Fernel, etc., see Schmitt Ch.B., "The Correspondence of Jacques Daléchamps (1513–1588)", *Viator. History, Cultural Studies, Classics and Cultural Studies* 8 (1977) 399–434.

⁷⁸ '[praesertim cum...] ex Italis Barbarus, ex Hispanis Pincianus, Gelenius ex Germanis, Turnebus ex nostratibus laborem eum susceperint, illoque strenue ac foeliciter defuncti sint' (Dalec., praef., fol. <5 r>).

⁷⁹ 'Permultos equidem miraturos prospicio, in medicina facienda mihi occupatissimo quid venerit in mentem, Plinium ut tractare vellem, scriptorem, ob rerum quas mandavit literis varietatem ac obscuritatem, paucis familiarem, opera mea ut is emendatio prodeat, et quae ad posteros transmisit, ductu meo cunctis sint clariora, et faciliora' (Dalec., praef., fol. <5 r>).

⁸⁰ de Beer S., "The World Upside Down. The Geographical Revolution in Humanist Commentaries on Pliny's *Natural History* and Mela's *De situ orbis* (1450–1700)", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Nellen H. (eds.), *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400–1700)*, Humanistica Lovaniensia Supplementa XXXIII (Leuven: forthcoming 2013).

sors in the textual criticism field, Daléchamps doesn't refuse to work with manuscripts himself, and, on the contrary, he has gotten lucky with them. His commentary was granted special merit and had subsequent influence because the author based his emendations on 'six codices written with pen', including two of great authority. One of the two was 'a most old and incorrupted manuscript from Besançon' from the library of a physician named Chiffletius, who lent it to Daléchamps for the whole year – i.e. codex Chiffletianus.⁸¹ The other manuscript Daléchamps received as a gift from the legist Cujas, who rescued it 'from the dusty archives of a certain monastery'.⁸²

However, Daléchamps worked on his *emendationes* not only with codices but also with previous editions on Pliny (e.g. by Gelenius, Sabellicus, Pintianus, etc.), and here gives cross-references on Pliny's text and sometimes parallel passages from other ancient texts (e.g. Aristotle). Between the source text, the marginalia, and the annotations, Daléchamps puts in references – in numbers and letters – which makes the use of the edition easy and comfortable. Additionally, there are two *Indices* at the end with plants and geographical names based on those by Joannes Camers and Gelenius, but worked over and supplemented by Daléchamps as well.

In the *Annotationes* Daléchamps refers to ancient authors, both Pliny's possible sources for certain passages and later ones who communicated similar data. He doesn't specify whether he considers a certain text as a source for Pliny, but by referring to the passages he gives his readers the possibility to draw their own conclusions. So, unlike Pintianus, Daléchamps' commentary on the number of elephants rafting out from Sicily

⁸¹ 'Ad eum vero conatum cum valde iam proclivis essem, nihil me vehementius impulit, quam quod propitia fortuna, exaratos penna sex codices nactus sum, et inter eos antiquissimum ac sanissimum Vezontinum, e Chiffletii bibliotheca, medici doctissimi ac probissimi: cuius beneficio mihi concessum est per annum totum examinare singula in impressis codicibus suspecta, prospero, nisi fallor, successu, quod innumeris locis ea restituta sint, quae deplorata credebantur' (Dalec., praef., fol. <6 v>). The codex Chiffletianus is marked as f in the modern textual tradition and was identified by the 19th-century Detlefsen (but not by all scholars) with F, or Codex Leidensis Lipsii (*Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 409).

⁸² 'Attulit quoque multum opis D. Cujacii non sine praefatione laudis et honoris appellandi, liber manuscriptus, e pulverulentis coenobii cuiusdam tablinis erutus, post Chiffletianum prae aliis integer, ac incorruptus, quo me pro sua ingenti munificentia donavit. His adiutus subsidiis, magni profecto momenti, alacrius et audentius Plinium ita sum aggressus, ut dies ac noctes quantum valetudo et privata negotia permiserunt, manum a tabula nunquam removerim' (Dalec., praef., fol. <6 v>). "One of Dalecampius' other manuscripts, which he cites as M Man. in his marginal glosses, also remains in the modern textual tradition, cited as z" (*Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, vol. IV, 409).

to Italy (142 animals according to Pliny, *Natural History* VIII, 6), just lists the parallels from the other ancient authors without additional remarks: '[...]110 in Seneca, in the book *De brevitae vitae*; in Florus, about 100; in Eutropius, 130; in Orosius, 104'.⁸³

The Greek quotations are cited in the original and are not always accompanied by Latin translations, which again suggests that his commentary was written for a high level readership. Along with ancient sources, Daléchamps often mentions the important encyclopaedia by Lodovico Celio Ricchieri (Caelius Rhodiginus, +1525).⁸⁴ All these texts – the *Natural History*, its ancient parallels, and Ricchieri – lead Daléchamps to some historical digressions or generalizations. And they, in turn, are evidence of the development of historical thinking and a more critical view:

(on the river Amilus) Dio says that it reaches πρὸς ὕδωρ αἰνᾶον, 'till the eternal water'. The old codices have 'Annulo', which is probably derived from the distorted Greek αἰνᾶος. Rhodig. chap. 18. 13.: Alexander was the first among the European kings to have elephants; Antigonus had many of them; Pyrrhus got a lot of elephants in the victorious battle over Demetrius, and he sent them to Rome. The same by Rhod. chap. 20. 22.⁸⁵

The historical interest of Daléchamps also accentuates his frequent numismatic comments, e.g.:

Due to this, on many ancient denarii, which reproduced Metelli's deeds, now there was an elephant stamped, now the two of them put to a chariot with the standing emperor with a victory wreath, now there was an elephant's head on a pair-horse chariot which carries the emperor. Vrsinus 38.⁸⁶

Daléchamps' historical approach stimulated him to look at Pliny's historically; e.g. in his comments on the mysterious period of the bear's

⁸³ Dalec. Ad Plin. Natural. hist. lib. VIII, cap. VI, 155.

⁸⁴ *Antiquarium Lectionum libri XVI* [...] (editio princeps in Venice by Aldus Manutius, 1517, and a supplemented edition in Basel in 1542). See also: *Zedler Lexicon*, vol. 31, 1154; *Contemporaries of Erasmus* 155; Schierbaum M. (ed.), *Enzyklopädistik 1550–1650. Typen und Transformationen von Wissensspeichern und Medialisierungen des Wissens* (Berlin [etc.]: 2009) 92–93.

⁸⁵ 'a. Dion ait pergere πρὸς ὕδωρ αἰνᾶον, perennem aquam. Vetusti codices habent Annulo, quae vox a Graeca αἰνᾶος fortassis depravata est. Rhodig. cap. 18.13. Primus ex Europae regibus Indis victis elephantos Alexander habuit plurimos Antigonus: multos Pyrrhus in praelio captos superato Demetrio, quos Romanis obiecit. Idem Rhod. cap. 20.22' (Dalec. Ad Plin. Natural. hist. lib. VIII, cap. I, 153).

⁸⁶ 'c. Hanc ob causam in multis denariis antiquis, Metellorum gestas res indicantibus, nunc elephans unicus impressus fuit, nunc ad currum iuncti duo cum Imperatore stante, quem coronat victoria, nunc sub biga, cui insidet Imperator, Elephanti caput. Ursinus 38' (Dalec. Ad Plin. Natural. hist. lib. VIII, cap. VI, 155).

copulation. Daléchamps looks for the solution in Aristotle and then estimates the whole situation from practical experience:

Aristot. in the 30th chapter of Book Six of the *Historia animalium* [mentions] the month "Elaphibolione", which is according to Gaza's translation 'February', thus I would read then here rather 'at the end of winter'.⁸⁷

As a result, Pliny's information loses its authority and becomes subject to criticism. So Pliny affirms, e.g. that the newly born bear cubs first seem to be a lump of white flesh without any form (*Natural History* VIII, 36). Daléchamps corrects him, being guided by autopsy: 'It is wrong. In the belly of a pregnant female bear, caught and disemboweled by hunters, I saw cubs with all their limbs, defined and formed'.⁸⁸

As physician and botanist, Daléchamps has his own experience with natural science. The contemporary developments in this field made him more critical about Pliny's scientific data, while Pliny remains for him the great authority in most other fields of knowledge. Nonetheless, the edition of the *Natural History* with the commentary by Daléchamps can be called a revolutionary one. Daléchamps contributed to the textual criticism history of the *Natural History*, consulting several rare manuscripts that even now remain in the textual tradition. He also introduced a completely new editorial organization of the source text and the annotations that allows the reader his own study of the source. But first of all, Daléchamps as a Renaissance scientist developed a new relationship between the science of his own time and ancient knowledge: he was one of the first humanists who started to take a more critical look at Pliny's authority.

⁸⁷ 'a. Aristot. cap. 30. lib. 6. Histor. mense Elaphibolione, id est, ut Gaza traduxit, Feliruario, quare potius legerim, hyemo definente' (Dalec. Ad Plin. Natural. hist. lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, 168).

⁸⁸ 'b. Hoc falsum. In utero gravidæ ursæ a venatoribus captæ et exenteratæ omnibus suis membris distinctos catulos et formatos vidi [...]' (Dalec. Ad Plin. Natural. hist. lib. VIII, cap. XXXVI, 168).

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FRÜHNEUZEITLICHE LANDESBESCHREIBUNG IN EINER ANTIKEN
GEOGRAPHIE – DER RHEIN AUS PERSÖNLICHER PERSPEKTIVE
IN VADIANS KOMMENTAR ZU POMPONIUS MELA (1522)

Katharina Suter-Meyer

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This contribution deals with the transformation process sparked by the commenting on an ancient geography by an early modern humanist scholar. This is shown through the example of the “Rhine-lemma” in a commentary composed by the Swiss reformer and humanist Joachim Vadianus on the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela. Vadianus widened the “Rhine-lemma” to such an extent, that it interrupts the main text over the course of several pages, and to the point, that it may be called a digression: the actual main text seems to take on a secondary position to the commentary or paratext, and the commentary attempts to sideline the main text. In his description, Vadianus narrows down the “description of the Rhine” to the Alpine Rhine and the region of Lake Constance, where his own roots lie. He chooses to neglect the fact that the Rhine functions as a border between the Swiss Confederation, France and Germany. In his Lemma on the Rhine, he sings a *laus regionis*, a tribute to his home country, his hometown and to the *Helvetii*, to whom he felt politically connected as a confederate. In his role as a commentator, Vadianus claims for himself authoritative knowledge consisting of empirical observations made by an eye-witness. By updating and completing the ancient cosmography with a laudatory description of the pleasant landscape, the splendid towns and successful and virtuous people of his *patria*, he becomes an author in his own right who uses the Rhine-lemma as a platform for the construction of his “national” identity.

Einleitung

In der humanistischen Kommentarliteratur zu antiken Werken wirft die grosse zeitliche Distanz zum Basistext Fragen und Probleme auf, mit denen sich der Kommentator auseinandersetzen muss, wenn er den altersbedingt fremden Text in seiner eigenen Erfahrungswelt einordnen und deuten will. Mit der Kommentierung setzt daher ein Transformationsprozess ein, der hier am Beispiel eines einzelnen Lemmas im lateinischen Kommentar zum römischen Geographen Pomponius Mela des Schweizer Humanisten

Joachim Vadian¹ (dt. von Watt) gezeigt werden soll. Im Zentrum steht das Lemma zum Rhein, in dessen Verlauf Elemente der *landesbeschreibenden* und *nationenbezogenen*² Literatur der frühen Neuzeit auftreten. Struktur und Aufbau dieser „Rheinbeschreibung“ werden im Folgenden in den Blick genommen, um zu klären, wie Vadian sich hier den antiken Text zu eigen macht und ihn über seinen Kommentar verändert. Es stellt sich dabei die Frage, wie sich der Kommentarcharakter im Text manifestiert, aber auch wie sich Vadian als Kommentator präsentiert.

Die vermutlich um 43/44 n. Chr. entstandene Weltbeschreibung Pomponius Melas (*De chorographia* oder *De orbis situ libri tres*) stellt die älteste überlieferte lateinische Geographie dar. Unter den Gelehrten der frühen Neuzeit sehr beliebt, steht sie „am Anfang humanistischer Beschäftigung mit den antiken Geographen überhaupt“.³ Das Interesse der Humanisten im deutschsprachigen Raum an chorographischem und geographischem Wissen war gerade vor dem Hintergrund der Entdeckungsfahrten gross. Im Humanistenkreis um Konrad Celtis entstanden verschiedene geographische, aber eng mit regionaler Historiographie verbundene Werke

¹ Vadian Joachim, *Pomponii Melae de orbis situ libri tres: accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctioribus factis* [...] (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Es handelt sich dabei um die zweite, stark erweiterte Edition von Vadian Joachim, *Pomponii Melae Hispani libri de situ orbis tres adiectis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii in eosdem scholiis* (Wien, Johannes Singrenius: 1518).

² Zu den Anfängen nationenbezogener Historiographie und dem Suchen nach einer gemeinsamen Identität als *natio* siehe besonders Helmuth J., „Probleme und Formen nationaler und regionaler Historiographie des deutschen und europäischen Humanismus um 1500“, in Werner M. (Hrsg.), *Spätmittelalterliches Landesbewusstsein in Deutschland* (Ostfildern: 2005) 333–392; Münkler H. – Grünberger H. – Mayer K. (Hrsg.), *Nationenbildung. Die Nationalisierung Europas im Diskurs humanistischer Intellektueller, Deutschland und Italien* (Berlin: 1998); Maissen Th., „Weshalb die Eidgenossen Helvetier wurden, die humanistische Definition einer *natio*“, in Helmuth J., J. – Muhlack U. – Walther G. (Hrsg.), *Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten* (Göttingen: 2002) 210–249; Hirschi C., *Wettkampf der Nationen, Konstruktion einer deutschen Ehrgemeinschaft an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 2005); zur Gattungsfrage von landesbeschreibenden Texten siehe Schirmermeister A., „Was sind humanistische Landesbeschreibungen? Korpusfragen und Textsorten“, in Helmuth J. – Schirmermeister A. – Schlelein S. (Hrsg.), *Medien und Sprachen humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung* (Berlin: 2009) 5–46.

³ Helmuth J., „Probleme und Formen“ 357. Die *editio princeps* der *De chorographia* Melas entstand in Mailand 1471, die bereinigte Textedition von Hermolaus Barbarus (Venedig: 1493) wurde zur Grundlage der meisten folgenden Editionen. Auch Gerhard Winkler weist darauf hin, dass die Weltbeschreibung Melas ihre grösste Wirkung in der frühen Neuzeit entfaltete: Winkler G., „Geographie bei den Römern: Mela, Seneca, Plinius“, in Hübner W. (Hrsg.), *Geographie und verwandte Wissenschaften* (Stuttgart: 2000) 141–161.

deskriptiver Natur, die sich besonders auf Strabo (in lateinischer Übersetzung) und Mela stützten.⁴

Der Schweizer Humanist und spätere Reformator von St. Gallen, Joachim Vadian (1484–1551), war in seiner Studienzeit an der Universität Wien ein Schüler von Celtis und stand sowohl unter dem Einfluss Johannes Cuspinians als auch Johannes Camers. Mit der Weltbeschreibung des antiken Geographen Pomponius Mela beschäftigte er sich über Jahre hinweg und hielt 1514 an der Universität Wien Vorlesungen dazu. Aus dieser Lehrtätigkeit entstand die kommentierte *De chorographia*-Ausgabe, die er 1518 in Wien zum ersten Mal bei Johannes Singrenius herausbrachte. Im Jahr 1522 folgte eine stark erweiterte Ausgabe beim Drucker Andreas Cratander in Basel.⁵ Diese zweite Edition gilt als das bedeutendste humanistische Werk Vadians, welches am meisten Erfolg hatte und am längsten nachlebte.⁶ Deswegen dient es den nachfolgenden Überlegungen als Grundlage. Eine moderne, kritische Ausgabe oder Übersetzung existiert nicht,⁷ auch fehlt jegliche spezifische Forschungsliteratur. Innerhalb der Humanismusforschung ist Vadians Mela-Kommentar einerseits zum Feld der Kommentarliteratur der frühen Neuzeit zu rechnen, andererseits gliedert er sich in die geographische und landesbeschreibende Literatur ein.

Grundsätzlich beabsichtigt Vadian nicht, in seinem Kommentar philologische und textkritische Probleme im engeren Sinne zu besprechen, da er den bereinigten Text des venezianischen Gelehrten Ermolao Barbaro für gut und als Textgrundlage geeignet befindet.⁸ Seine Kommentare dienen der *Vermittlung der Geographie*.⁹ Neben sprachlichen und inhaltlichen Erläuterungen bezieht er Auffassungen antiker, mittelalterlicher sowie neuzeitlicher Autoren ein. Bei Bedarf korrigiert er Melas Angaben oder bringt eigene Beobachtungen, Überlegungen und Erlebnisse ein. Mit der „Rheinbeschreibung“ steht hier eines jener Lemmata des Kommentares im Zentrum, die durch Vadians eigene Textbeiträge einen solchen Umfang erreichen, dass man sie als Exkurs bezeichnen könnte. Jedenfalls

⁴ So Helmroth, „Probleme und Formen“ 357.

⁵ Dazu auch Frohne R., *Das Welt- und Menschenbild des St. Galler Humanisten Joachim von Watt/Vadianus (1484–1551)* [...] (Remscheid: 2010) 15. Eine Übersicht zum Kommentar bietet Näf W., *Vadian und seine Stadt St. Gallen*, 1. Bd. bis 1518: Humanist in Wien (St. Gallen: 1944) 263–277.

⁶ So der Vadian-Biograph Näf, *Vadian und seine Stadt St. Gallen* 277.

⁷ Einige ausgewählte Textausschnitte bietet das „Lesebuch“ von Frohne, *Das Welt- und Menschenbild* in deutscher Übersetzung an.

⁸ Näf, *Vadian und seine Stadt St. Gallen* 265.

⁹ Vgl. Näf, *Vadian und seine Stadt St. Gallen* 265–266.

erhält der Kommentar dabei einen Stellenwert, bei dem der Paratext den Haupttext überlagert und in den Hintergrund drängt.

Fokussierung auf das Alpenrheingebiet als Auftakt des Lemmas

Im Kapitel 24 des dritten Buches der *De chorographia* nennt Mela den Rhein im Rahmen der Beschreibung der atlantischen Küste Galliens. Diese Stelle beginnt in Vadians Kommentar auf der Druckseite 167 [Abb. 1], wobei der antike Text in der Mitte mit grösseren Typen wiedergegeben ist. Der humanistische Kommentar umrahmt ihn mit kleinen, schlan- ken Typen und unterbricht ihn mitten im Satz. Der „Rheinexkurs“ selber erstreckt sich dann aber über mehr als zwei Seiten reinen Kommentares [Abb. 2–3]. Erst auf Seite 170 [Abb. 4] findet der Leser mit ‚Flevo dicitur etc.‘ den letzten Teilsatz der Rheinbeschreibung Melas:

Rhenus ab Alpibus decidens, prope a capite duos lacus efficit, Venetum et Acronium:¹⁰ mox diu solidus, et certo alveo lapsus, haud procul a mari huc et illuc dispergitur: sed a sinistrum amnis etiam tum et donec effluat Rhenus ad dexteram primo angustus, et sui similis, post ripis longe ac late recentibus iam non amnis, sed ingens lacus, ubi campos implevit, Flevo dicitur, eiusdemque nominis insulam amplexus sit iterum arctior, iterumque fluvius emittitur.¹¹

Von den Alpen herunterfliessend, bildet der Rhein in der Nähe seiner Quelle zwei Seen, den Venetischen und den Acronischen; bald gleitet er lange vollständig in einem bestimmten Bett dahin, zerstreut sich dann aber nicht fern vom Meer hierhin und dorthin: Aber auf der linken Seite des Stromes heisst er auch damals noch (bis er ins Meer mündet) Rhenus; auf der rechten, wo er die Ebenen tränkt, heisst er, der zunächst schmal und seiner alten Gestalt ähnlich danach aber mit weit und breit zurücktretenden Ufern schon kein Fluss mehr sondern ein gewaltiger See ist, Flevo; und wieder schmaler geworden, umströmt er eine Insel gleichen Namens und mündet schliesslich als Fluss.

Geographische Fixpunkte im antiken Text sind die Alpen als Ursprungs- gebiet des Rheins und der Bodensee sowie die Mündung des Flusses ins Meer. Mela macht weder genauere Angaben zum übrigen Verlauf noch spricht er eine Grenzfunktion des Flusses an. Bei ‚Rhenus ab Alpibus‘ setzt

¹⁰ gemeint sind Ober- und Untersee des Bodensees.

¹¹ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 167–170. Vadians Textversion weist vernachlässigbare Abwei- chungen zum modernen Melatext (Mela 3, 24) auf. Auf einen Vergleich wird verzichtet, da hier die Edition von 1522 als Grundlage dient.

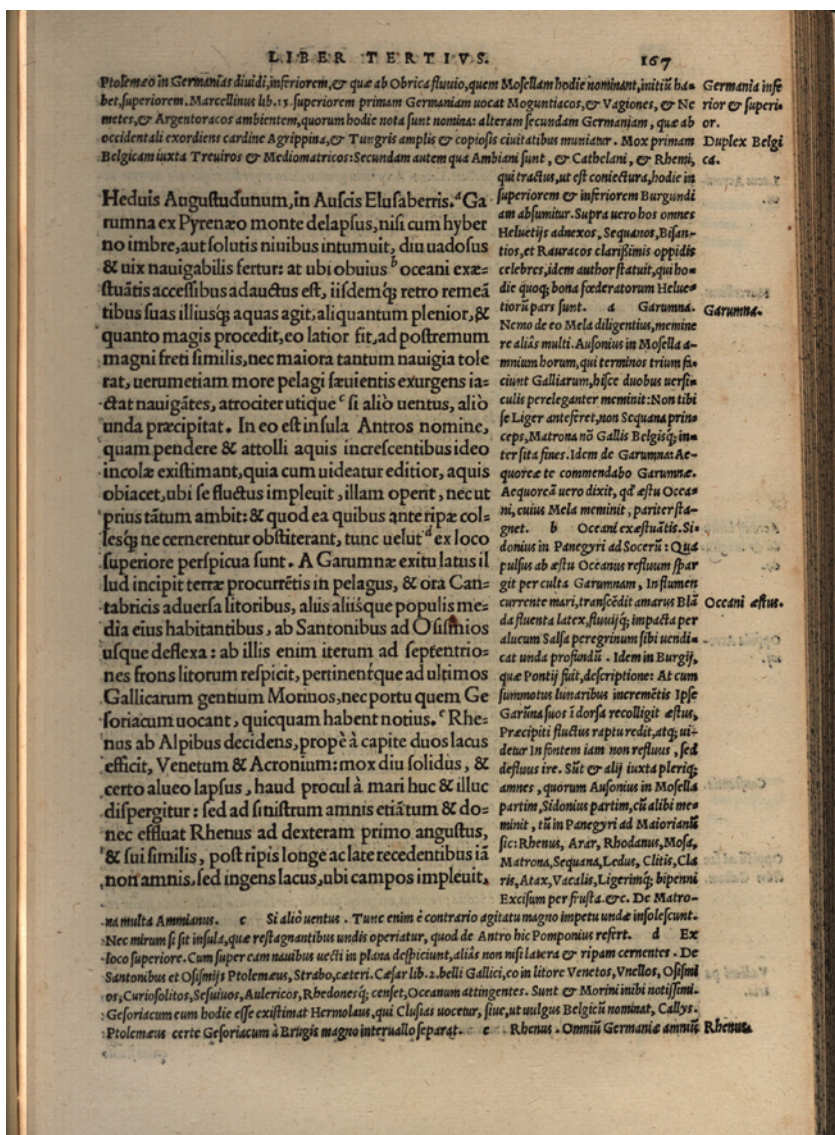


Abb. 1. Beginn des „Rhein-Lemmas“ auf Seite 167 in Joachim Vadian, *Melae de orbis situ libri tres accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctioribus factis* [...] (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Universitätsbibliothek Basel CFIH 121.

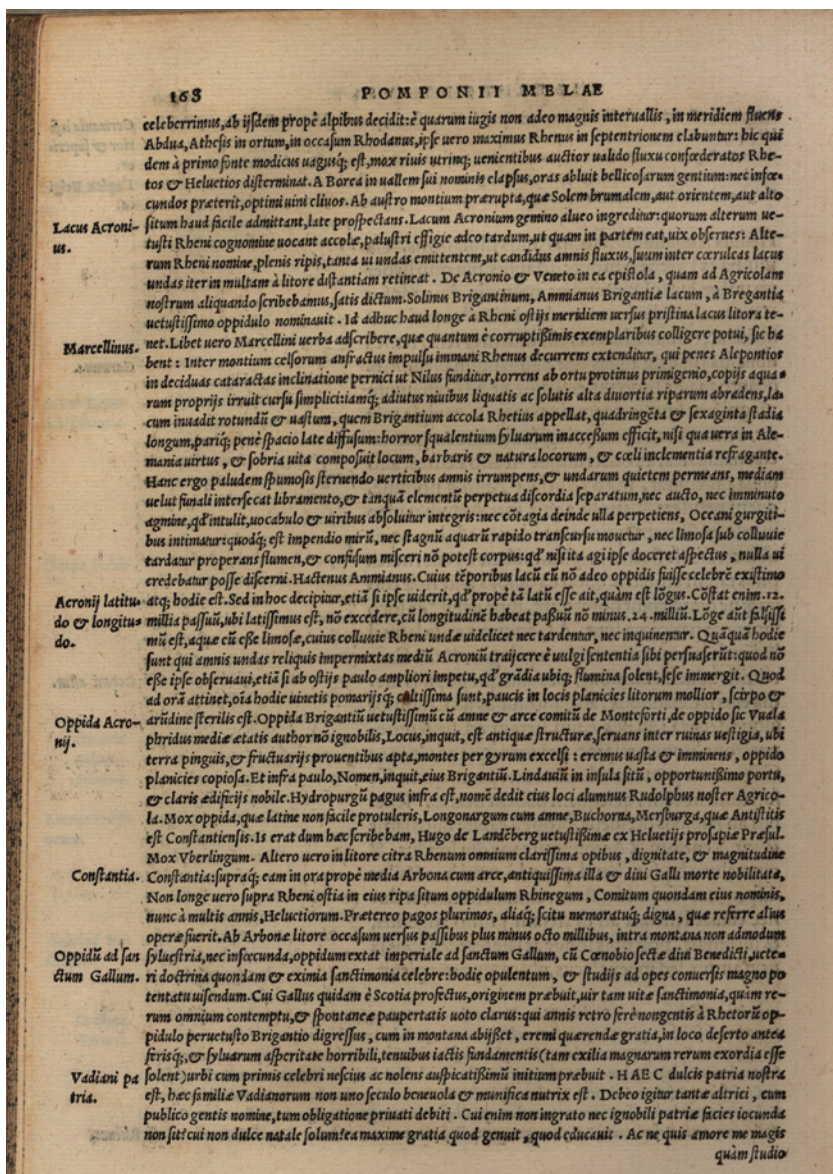


Abb. 2. Joachim Vadian, „Rhein-Lemma“ (‘Lacus Acronius’ bis ‘Vadiani Patria’). Seite 168 aus Joachim Vadian, *Melae de orbis situ libri tres accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctoribus factis* [...] (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Universitätsbibliothek Basel CFI 121.

LIBER TERTIVS.

169

quā studio ueritatis motum, ut plura de ea referam existimet, ab omnibus profus hoc in loco praecōis abstinentiam censui. Alio in opere conati sumus, et porro ubi poterimus, conabimur, ne quis erga patriam ingratos nos fuisse aliquis in parte obijcere queat. Quod si loci commoditatem ob montes, ob flumina, ob aëris gratissimā salubritatem, et coeli assuetum minime noxium, si ciuium religionem, prudentiam, equitatem, humanitatem, bellicū pacisq; administrationem, non satis pro rei dignitate retulero, si studia probatissima, et sumigera per Europam mercimonia, non fuero pro dignitate consecutus, ueniam mihi posteri dabūt, quod primus illa fuerim ausus: quandoquidem in magnis, ut Propertius ait, et uoluisset est. Et pleriq; qui post me alij erunt in annis, nostrā audacia ducti fortasse meliora sperent. Quorum ē numero futurum speramus, Melchiorē Vadianum fratrem Melchior Vadianus. nostrum ea etiamnam iuuenem indole praeditum, ut polliceri mihi ausim, modo bonus Genius uite et dux fuerit, et Heluetij. futurum cum post nos quicquid disparibus studiis occupatē uires nostrae in absolutum eiderint. I V X T A P A Heluetij.

et suis iustis legibus, armis uiam faciunt, ubi aut religioni, quam peculiariter obseruant, aut equitati suae nō datur locus. Bellicosissimi uero, et quod in armorum studio raro aliqui cernitur, mire humani et mansueti: pediatu adeo ualidi, ut herbam uel uictores praebant. Nulla bis mora, quin uel paratissimo ad uictoriam hosti, pugnae faciant copiam. Ex equo certant quoties ea defenduntur, quae publicis consilijs decretae sunt. Nihil autem refert, pauper an diues, plebeius an imaginibus clarus quis sit, iuxta uite mortisq; periculum omniū est, ne queri quis possit eandē alicuius uiris, pari sorte nō ludi. Vtinā autē secunda doli fiducia cautius quādoq; de se periculum faceret. Nimis nōnumquā (pace meorū Heluetiorū dixerim) nimis est impetus: nec est satis ualere uiribus, nisi ipsae magna industria utaris. Haud frustra Palladē, galca, egide, et hasta armatū uenisti, hoc est doctissimi Poetae finxerūt: cū sit cōperitū in bello plurimū quidē loci uiribus esse corporis. Ceterū multo praestantiores esse in quosuis usus, si eadē rationis frenis obtemperant. Id qd in Heluetiorū castris aliqui peculiariter, et nullo neficiente solet retineri. Verū semel iterumq; peccasse quid obstat? E rare turpe uidetur, et si at certe nulla solida sine errore uirtus. Tūc enim cautius sapimus, quā uirtutis amorē nobis cōmisi errores perperere. Nec est in toto inquirentē prudentia genere maior uirtutis fomes, quā qui sepe errādo, sepe periclitādo, suae magno in cōmodo nostro tandē quid pro salute agendū sit cernimus. Quorsum haec? quā Heluetiorū ex officio meminimus, pugna mihi incidit ea, quae anno ab hinc tertio prope Mediolanū multorū sanguine incuruit. Quādo in euidē, tūc admīrāde fortitudinis praestādū de se indicū, Helueticus exercitus nihil cōstanti patitionis rumore perterritus, sine equitatu, nec totus, nec ordine, sine ducibus, sine die, imminente iā uespere, subito tumultu, Gallorū insistenti, immo Germanorū, Hispanorū, Vasconū, Venetorū, nullis nō uigilijs, nullis nō torquentis, nullis nō sosis munitas copias, iunis in castris, tāta alacritate adoriri est ausus, ut singulari uel ipsi hosti i spectaculo fuerit, perperere ritū, ea res ingētē terrorē. Quo in loco, qd in feruida pugna pars Heluetici exercitus profligata est, eruperunt uelut ex equo Troiano uiri non indocti, qui tanquā ad Triarios res Heluetica iam inclinasset, Gallorū potētissimo regi Francisco, nescio an munerē captandorū magis, an studiū ueritatis gratia, congratulari nō planē modestis numeris, utcuq; uoluerunt. Nimirum quod inauditum esset cessisse Heluetium: aut quod haec res, quae nulli olim imperio, nulli regno non contigit, quod Heluetijs contigisset, digna memoratu uisa est. Nec enim facile dixerim quantam inuidiam eius gentis felicitas passim nutrat. Sed non licet, inquis, gratulari licet utiq;. Et magnum est candidi amoris testimonium, letari ex peccatore, quoties his quos amas, bene successerit. Verū cōtemnere uel sūtu quodam, et male dictis laceſcere, quid aliud est, quā publicis perturbationibus fāctia sionāmenta laceſcere? Nemo Heluetius Ludouico amplissimo Gallorum regi est congratulatus, quando ad Idus Maias Ann. 1509. inter Cassanum, Tūrium, et Rioultam siccam oppida, Venetum exercitum fudit, fugauitq; decem amplius millibus desideratis, ut tertio lib. an. lect. scribit Caelius: idq; Heluetici roboris cum primis opera. Absit autem ut quispiā nostrū non agnoscat, cōmunē hanc esse regnorū et imperiorū sortem, ut uincere et uinci, prout iusserit quādoq; fortuna, translatiū sit. Cedimus enim (ut Persij uerbis utar) inq; uicē praebemus crura sagittis. Audio uero et alios esse, q; nescio quā Iliada edituri sunt, pro gloria illi agent enā sua, si ueritatē historiae ducem cōstentent, sin autē aut amori tribuent quicquā, aut odio indulgebūt, audient male: nā nisi me fallit animus, multi erūt inter Helueticos Scauolae, qui olim in publice huius inuidiae flammās seueri stili manū iniiciunt. Adco enim durū nobis coeli nō est, ut persuadere sibi quis debeat, Latias Musas amoenos Alpū recessus nō aliquādo petiturus. Quod ad pugna attinet, scio quā fortiter Gallus, quā cōstāter Germanus cōgressus sit. Vespere quidē utrūq; uicerat Heluetius, nisi pugnae nox obijisset. Mane sequētis diei cū diu praeliū ancipiti alea cōmitteretur, Gallus uictoriā retinuit: magna ibi seueritate decertatū est, et multae utriusq; generose efflātē anīe, multūq; ab utraq; erroris parte datū, atq; utriūq; alterutrius alio quopā periculo aut uincere, aut uinci datū fuisset: casus enim fortū mirorū quicūq; illi sunt, me uinceret. Heluetius quidē praeter uires in lacertis positas nihil habuit reliquū, quo in

Melchior Vadianus.

Heluetij.

Pugna Helueticorum cū Gallis.

Venetus exercitus profligatus.

B

Abb. 3. Joachim Vadian, „Rhein-Lemma“ („Melchior Vadianus' bis, Venetus exercitus profligatus"). Seite 169 aus Joachim Vadian, *Melae de orbis situ libri tres accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctioribus factis* [...] (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Universitätsbibliothek Basel CFIH 12:1.

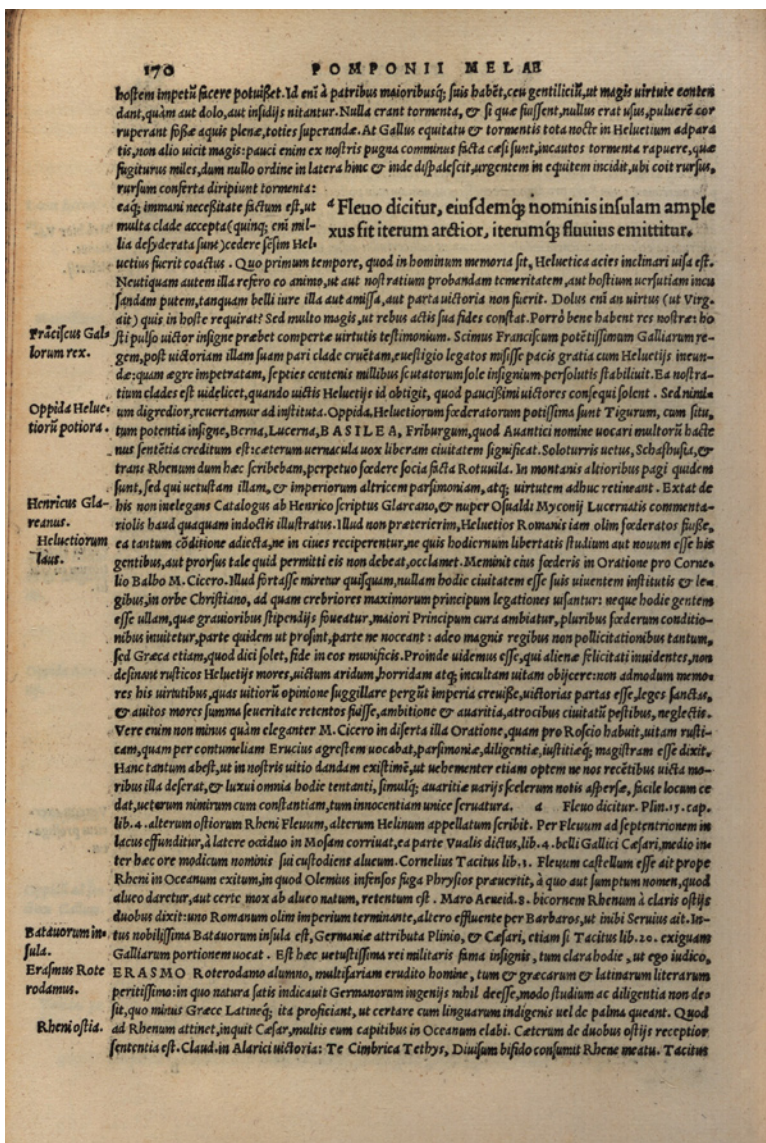


Abb. 4. Ende von Vadian „Rhein-Lemma“ und letzter Teilsatz der Rheinbeschreibung Melas (‘Fleuo dicitur’ bis ‘fluuius emittitur’). Seite 170 aus Joachim Vadian, *Melae de orbis situ libri tres accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctoribus factis* [...] (Basel, Andreas Cratander: 1522). Universitätsbibliothek Basel CFIH 1211.

Vadian einen Lemma-Verweis in Melas Text ein: Für den Leser im Druckbild gut sichtbar verweist ein hochgestelltes ‚e‘ auf die entsprechende, mit demselben Buchstaben gekennzeichnete Stelle im Kommentartext. Eine Marginalie lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesers zusätzlich auf Vadians Eintrag unter ‚e Rhenus‘ [Abb. 1]. Schon auf der Ebene des Layouts und der Textorganisation wird deutlich, dass der Kommentator seinem Text im Verhältnis zum Haupttext einen hohen Stellenwert beimisst.

Zunächst führt Vadian eine hierarchische Ordnung ein, in der er dem Rhein den Spitzenplatz unter den germanischen Flüssen einräumt: ‚omnium Germaniae amnium celeberrimus‘.¹² Damit spricht Vadian dem Rhein eine herausragende Qualität zu, die sich, wie es dem interessiert weiterblätternden Leser nicht entgehen kann, auch in der Länge des Lemmas spiegelt. Dann geht Vadian – der Struktur des antiken Textes eng folgend – zu einer genaueren geographischen Einordnung über, wobei er Melas Angabe ‚ab Alpibus decidens‘ aufnimmt:

[...] ab iisdem prope alpibus decedit: e quarum iugis non adeo magnis intervallis, in meridiem fluens Abdua, Athesis in ortum, in occasum Rhodanus, ipse vero maximus Rhenus in septentrionem elabuntur.¹³

[...] Er strömt fast aus denselben Alpen herab: Aus deren Gebirgskämmen fliesst in nicht so grosser Entfernung gegen Süden der Fluss Adda, gegen Osten der Etsch und gegen Westen die Rhone, der Rhein selbst aber ist der grösste und gleitet gegen Norden herab.

Neu ist bei Vadian das Bild einer zentralen Alpen-Wasserscheide, aus der sich in alle vier Himmelsrichtungen Flüsse ergiessen, die tatsächlich zentraleuropäische Stromgebiete¹⁴ repräsentieren. Durch die nach Süden, Osten, Westen und Norden ausströmenden Flüsse und die sich dabei aufdrängende Assoziation der vier Paradiesflüsse wird das Quellgebiet in den Alpen zu einem topographischen Mittelpunkt. Den Rhein selbst hebt Vadian als ‚ipse vero maximus Rhenus‘ hervor – so führt er weiter, was er mit dem Superlativ ‚celeberrimus‘ begonnen hat, und festigt nun mit ‚maximus‘ die Führungsrolle des Rheins auch auf der Ebene von Grösse und Bedeutung.¹⁵

¹² Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 167e: ‚von allen Flüssen Germaniens ist er der berühmteste‘.

¹³ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168.

¹⁴ Es handelt sich um das Rhein-, das Rhone-, das Etsch- und das Pogegebiet – wobei für letzteres die Adda steht, welche in den Po mündet.

¹⁵ Verschiedene Formen des Mittelpunkt Denkens in Landesbeschreibungen und im Städtelob finden sich sowohl in den *Amores* als auch in der *Norimberga* des Konrad Celtis. Eine Anlehnung an das biblische Paradies etwa über die Paradiesflüsse illustriert dieses

Nachdem er den Fluss so zum wichtigsten in Europa gemacht hat, thematisiert Vadian die Grenzfunktion. Er nennt dabei zwei „Völker“, die in den politischen Kontext der Eidgenossenschaft gehören:

hic quidem a primo fonte modicus vagusque est, mox rivis utrinque venientibus auctior valido fluxu confoederatos Rhetos et Helvetios disternit.¹⁶

Hier ist er zwar an seiner ersten Quelle klein und unstet, bald wird er aber durch die von überallher kommenden Bäche grösser und mit starkem Strom schneidet er die verbündeten Rhäter und die Helvetier auseinander.

Bereits zum Fluss geworden, trennt der Rhein die Rhäter von den Helvetiern: Indem Vadian topographisch beim Alpenrhein bleibt, übergeht er die Germanen als Anwohnervolk. Der Fokus der *descriptio* wird klar auf das rhätische Bündnissystem („confoederatos Rhetos“) und die Eidgenossenschaft gerichtet. In der Rolle des Kommentators spezifiziert und ergänzt Vadian, der sich im Titel als ‚Vadianus Helvetius‘ präsentiert,¹⁷ den Bericht des antiken Autors, doch gleichzeitig rückt er mit der Nennung der ‚Helvetii‘ und ‚Rheti‘ den Rhein in einen regionalen sowie persönlichen Zusammenhang. Mit der Bezeichnung ‚confoederatos Rhetos‘ fliesst zudem zeitgenössische Politik ein. Der Kanton Graubünden war damals ein Freistaat aus drei Bünden, die seit 1497 gleichberechtigte Partner der Eidgenossenschaft waren. So führt Vadian Melas literarische „Umseglung“ der Welt in seine eigene Zeit und aktualisiert sie. Er geht noch einen Schritt weiter und wird zum neuzeitlichen Koautor seines antiken Gegenübers, indem er eine eigene Chorographie des Alpenrheingebiets entwirft, die den antiken Basistext über mehr als zwei Seiten [Abb. 1–4] verdrängt. Das Lemma gerät zu einer Landesbeschreibung, in der *laus regionum* und geographisch-ethnographische sowie historiographische Elemente zusammentreten.¹⁸

Mittelpunktsdenken, das weniger einer topographisch korrekten *descriptio* als vielmehr den traditionellen Topoi der *laudes urbium und regionum* verpflichtet ist. Jörg Robert zeigt zudem, wie sich Mittelpunkts- und Herkunftsdiskurse verschränken können. Vgl. dazu Robert J., *Konrad Celtis und das Projekt der deutschen Dichtung, Studien zur humanistischen Konstitution von Poetik, Philosophie, Nation und ich* (Tübingen: 2003) 400–408.

¹⁶ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168.

¹⁷ Der volle Titel von Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* lautet: *Pomponii Melae de orbis situ libri tres, accuratissime emendati una cum commentariis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii castigatioribus et multis in locis auctioribus factis: id quod candidus lector obiter, et in transcurso facile deprehendet.*

¹⁸ Ich beziehe mich hier auf Schirrmeisters Konzept der landesbeschreibenden Textsorte. Siehe Schirrmeister, „humanistische Landesbeschreibungen“ 35. Auf Seite 23 ff. geht er auf landesbeschreibende Elemente in Vadians Kommentar zu Pomponius Mela ein.

Die epideiktische, laudative Darstellungsweise, die mit der Charakterisierung des Flusses als ‚celeberrimus‘ und ‚maximus‘ begonnen hat, setzt sich in Bezug auf Land und Bewohner an den Ufern des Flusses fort: ‚Borea in vallem sui nominis elapsus, oras abluit bellicosarum gentium: nec infoecundos praeterit, optimi vini clivos‘.¹⁹ Die Charakterisierung der Völker am Rhein als ‚bellicosae‘ ist als positive Wertung zu verstehen, denn während der Begriff in der Antike als Beschreibungselement für fremde, feindliche und auch „barbarische“ Völker diente,²⁰ steht er bei Vadian für die Tugend der Kriegstüchtigkeit, die er gerade den Helvetiern als besonders herausragende Eigenschaft zuschreibt.²¹ So klingt hier in der *laus regionum* ein zentrales Thema der später im Lemma folgenden *laus gentis* an.

*Antike auctoritas gegenüber Autopsie: Auseinandersetzung
mit Ammianus Marcellinus*

Der nächste durch eine Marginalie angekündigte Fixpunkt in Vadians Rheinbeschreibung ist der ‚Lacus Acronius‘ (= der Bodensee). Dabei steht die Diskussion einer Ammianus-Marcellinus-Stelle im Zentrum: ‚Libet vero Marcellini verba adscribere, quae, quantum e corruptissimis exemplaribus colligere potui, sic habent: [...]‘.²² Im Rahmen der Beschreibung von Rhein und Bodensee öffnet Vadian für den Leser den literarischen Horizont, indem er neben Melas Text eine andere antike Auffassungen stellt. Die Marginalie ‚Marcellinus‘ markiert dessen *auctoritas* im Kommentar.

Vadian selbst bleibt als textgestaltender Vermittler und gelehrter Humanist präsent, indem er in der ersten Person den Leser auf die problematische Überlieferungslage aufmerksam macht. In seiner eigenen Ammianus-Ausgabe finden sich übrigens an der besagten Stelle handschriftliche

¹⁹ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168: ‚Im Norden in das Tal seines Namen hinabgleitend, benetzt er die Küsten kriegslustiger Völker: Auch an sehr fruchtbaren Hängen von bestem Wein fließt er vorbei‘.

²⁰ Vgl. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. „bellicosus“ (vol. II, 1809, Z. 43; 1810, Z. 68).

²¹ Vgl. Schirmeister A., „Freiheit und Sitten der Schweizer: politische Semantik in Schriften Joachim Vadians“, in: Weber-Steiner A. (Hrsg.): *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis, Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Upsala 2009)* (Leiden – Boston: 2012) 963, der festhält, dass sowohl bei Vadian als auch bei Glarean die Kriegstüchtigkeit (als für den Erhalt der Freiheit notwendige Eigenschaft) stets unter den Begriffen *bellicosa gens*, *bellicosissimus* oder *bellipotens* auftrete.

²² Ebd.: ‚Es beliebt aber die Worte des Marcellinus hinzuschreiben, welche, soweit ich sie aus den ziemlich beschädigten Exemplaren zusammenlesen konnte, so lauten: [...]‘.

Randnotizen sowie Unterstreichungen und Verbesserungen der fehlerhaften Druckversion.²³

Vadian zitiert aus den *Res gestae* des Ammianus, der die Rheinfälle mit den Nilkatarakten vergleicht und die Rheinmündung des Bodensees, dessen Grösse sowie die dichten Wälder und das raue Klima der Region beschreibt.²⁴ Der Abschnitt steht im Kontrast zu Vadians Darstellungsweise und illustriert die antike Vorstellung einer sehr rauen und wilden Alpenrheingegend. Noch bevor er im Anschluss an das Zitat verschiedene Aussagen des antiken Autors berichtigt, macht Vadian – beim Leser gewissermassen für Nachsicht plädierend – mit der Aussage ‚cuius temporibus lacum eum non adeo oppidis fuisse celebrem existimo atque hodie est‘²⁵ die veränderten zeitlichen Bedingungen für Ammians Wissenslücken verantwortlich. Gleichwohl stellt er klar, dass sich jener trotz der postulierten Augenzeugenschaft irrt.²⁶ Seinem eigenen aktuellen und sozusagen vor Ort überprüfbaren Wissensstand misst er die höhere Autorität zu. Explizit wird das deutlich, nachdem er die Grösse des Sees berichtigt²⁷ und mit ‚longe autem falsissimum est‘²⁸ andere Angaben des Ammianus vehement als äusserst falsch bezeichnet hat. Mit ‚quod non esse ipse observavi‘²⁹ bringt Vadian jetzt seine eigene Augenzeugenschaft ein. Er präsentiert sich selbst als Autorität, wobei die Autopsie zum Fundament der Glaubwürdigkeit wird. Seine Herkunft aus dieser Region, die an einer späteren Stelle des Lemmas prominent besprochen wird, verleiht seinen Ausführungen implizit zusätzliche Überzeugungskraft. Während er aus Gründen der *mutatio temporum* das Autopsieargument bei Ammianus verwirft, veranlasst ihn gerade die Aktualität seines Wissen, es über jenes des antiken Autors zu stellen. So stehen hier Kongruenz und Differenz alten und aktuellen geographischen Wissens im Zentrum, nicht aber die Darstellung einer intertextuellen Vernetzung.

²³ Der Druck ist in der Vadianischen Sammlung der Kantonsbibliothek St. Gallen unter der Signatur VadSlg Inc 735 (K1) einsehbar.

²⁴ Vgl. Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168, bzw. Amm. 15,4,2 wobei die heute gebräuchliche Textversion stark von jener abweicht, die Vadian damals benutzte.

²⁵ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168: ‚Ich denke, dass dieser See zu dessen Zeit nicht so berühmt war wie die Städte und wie er heute ist‘.

²⁶ Ebd.: ‚Sed in hoc decipitur, etiam si ipse viderit, quod prope tam latum esse ait, quam est longus‘.

²⁷ Ebd.: ‚Constat enim 12 millia passuum, ubi latissimus est, non excedere, cum longitudinem habeat pasuum non minus 24 millium‘.

²⁸ Ebd.

²⁹ Ebd.

Periplus um den Bodensee

Nach der Würdigung der Wein- und Apfelgärten der Küstenregion beginnt eine Art neuzeitlicher ‚*Periplus*‘ – sozusagen eine *literarische Umseglung des Bodensees*, die dem Leser die umliegenden Städte vorstellt: Wie Pomponius Mela seine Weltbeschreibung als literarischen Periplus – den Küsten des Mittelmeeres folgend – organisiert,³⁰ so strukturiert Vadian die Aufzählung der Städte im Bodenseeraum dem Seeufer entlang. So steht am Anfang des Städtetkatalogs die etwas östlich der Mündung des Rheines liegende Stadt Bregenz, die Vadian zur ältesten Stadt erklärt. Dann werden am nördlichen Ufer die Städte Lindau und Wasserburg, Langenargen, Buchhorn,³¹ Meersburg und Überlingen, wie sie in Richtung Westen nebeneinander liegen, aufgezählt. Am anderen Ufer, jetzt ‚*citra Rhenum*‘³² (diesseits des Rheines), wie Vadian aus der Perspektive der helvetisch geprägten Rheinregion festhält, sei Konstanz die berühmteste Stadt von allen. Gegen Osten und die Rheinmündung zurückschreitend nennt Vadian noch Arbon und Rheineck, welches den Kreis in unmittelbarer Nähe der Mündung schliesst. Dadurch, dass Vadian jeweils kurz über die Orte informiert (etwa einen berühmten Hafen, historische Persönlichkeiten oder die Zugehörigkeit zur Eidgenossenschaft erwähnt) und die Aufzählung auf Küstenstädte reduziert, ahmt er Melas knappe, am „*Periplus*“ orientierte Darstellungsweise nach und gestaltet die *descriptio* des Bodenseeraumes als stilistisch eingepasste Erweiterung der antiken Weltbeschreibung. Der „*Periplus*“ dient auch dazu, die Bedeutung und das Ansehen der Region zu erhöhen. Vadian nutzt die Periplus-Strategie zudem für die Würdigung seiner Heimatstadt St. Gallen, indem er diese mit den Worten ‚*ab Arbonae litore occasum versus passibus plus minus octo millibus [...] oppidum extat imperiale ad Sanctum Gallum*‘³³ in den Katalog der Küstenstädte integriert. Diese Zugehörigkeit schreibt Vadian durch die Verbindung zwischen St. Gallen und dem altherwürdigen Bodenseestädtchen Arbon anhand der *Vita* des heiligen

³⁰ Winkler, „Geographie bei den Römern: Mela, Seneca, Plinius“ 142.

³¹ Im Mittelalter eine freie Reichsstadt am Bodensee, nach dem Zusammenschluss mit dem Kloster Hofen 1811 wurde es zum heutigen Friedrichshafen.

³² Ebd.: ‚*Altero vero in litore citra Rhenum omnium clarissima opibus, dignitate, et magnitudine Constantia*‘.

³³ Ebd.: ‚Von der Küste Arbons gegen Westen in ungefähr acht Meilen Entfernung steht [...] die kaiserliche Stadt St. Gallen‘.

Gallus fest: So bezeichnet er Arbon als ‚divi Galli morte nobilitata‘,³⁴ setzt dann bei der ersten Nennung St. Gallens die Worte ‚cum Coenobio sectae divi Benedicti‘ hinzu und spricht die Gründung durch einen ‚gewissen Gallus‘ (‚Gallus quidam‘) an, der ‚e Scotia profectus‘ auf der Suche nach einem Rückzugsort in der Einöde mitten in rauen Wäldern und wilden Tieren die schlichten Fundamente der später so bekannten Stadt gelegt habe.³⁵

Dadurch, dass Vadian mit dem „Periplus um den Bodensee“ die Region mit berühmten, einflussreichen oder geschichtsträchtigen Städten besetzt, unterstreicht er deren Bedeutung und Kultiviertheit. Auch am Ende des Lemmas wird Vadian im Zusammenhang mit einer *laus Helvetiorum* ganz ähnlich zu einer Aufzählung eidgenössischer Städte anheben. Die Zivilisation der beschriebenen Landschaft, die sich in der Existenz der Städte manifestiert, wird mit diesen *enumerationes* untermauert und ist auf die Intention des Autors zurückzuführen, einen latenten *barbaries*-Vorwurf zu widerlegen.³⁶

‚Vadians Heimat‘: Selbstdarstellung des Kommentators

Über Rhein und Bodensee kommt Vadian also auf das wirtschaftlich und kulturell stark im Bodenseeraum vernetzte St. Gallen zu sprechen.³⁷ Auf der Ebene der Marginalien stellt er mit ‚Oppidum ad Sanctum Gallum‘ die Stadt auf dieselbe Stufe in der Bedeutungshierarchie wie den „Bodensee-Periplus“ und dessen prominenteste Küstenstadt, die zuvor mit ‚Oppida

³⁴ Vgl. Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168: ‚supraque eam in ora prope media Arbona cum arce, antiquissima illa et divi Galli morte nobilitata‘.

³⁵ Siehe Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168: ‚oppidum extat imperiale ad Sanctum Gallum, cum Coenobio sectae divi Benedicti, veteri doctrina quondam et eximia sanctimonia celebre: hodie opulentum, et studiis ad opes conversis magno potentatu visendum. Cui Gallus quidam e Scotia profectus, originem praebuit, [...] eremi quaerendae gratia, in loco deserto antea feris et sylvarum asperitate horribili, tenuibus iactis fundamentis [...] urbi cum primis celebri nescius ac nolens auspiciatissimum initium praebuit‘. Im Unterschied zur Ausgabe von 1518 relativiert Vadian (bereits von reformatorischem Gedankengut geprägt) sowohl die Heiligkeit als auch die Gründerrolle des Gallus. Vgl. dazu Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* (Wien: 1518) fol. 93v und Gamper, „Deutung St. Galler Geschichte“ 171–172.

³⁶ Zur Rolle der Fokussierung auf Städte in der Topographie vgl. Robert, *Konrad Celtis und das Projekt der deutschen Dichtung* 403.

³⁷ Zur Eingrenzung des Bodenseeraumes bei Geographen des 16. Jahrhunderts, siehe Burmeister K.H. „Der Bodensee im 16. Jahrhundert“, *Montfort, Vierteljahresschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwart Vorarlbergs*, Jahrgang 57, Heft 3 (2005) 230. Burmeister bezieht sich allerdings auf eine spätere, deutsche Schrift Vadians über den oberen Bodensee, nicht auf die Textstellen zum Bodensee im Mela-Kommentar.

Acronii‘ und ‚Constantia‘ markiert waren.³⁸ Die bereits dem Rhein zugeschriebene und auf die Bodenseestädte übertragene Berühmtheit färbt so auf St. Gallen ab. Die Stadt wird nun durch die viel ausführlichere Berücksichtigung der guten Lage, des Reichtums und der Gründungsgeschichte zum Höhepunkt in der *descriptio* des Bodenseeraumes – aber auch zum Wendepunkt im Lemma. Hier kennzeichnet die Randbemerkung ‚Vadiani patria‘ den Übergang von der an die antike Chorographie angelehnten Landschafts- und Städtebeschreibung zu einer stark autobiographisch gefärbten, sich verselbstständigenden und besonders epideiktischen Passage. Unübersehbar rückt Vadian seine eigene Person und Heimat mit einem in Kapitalien gesetzten Satzanfang in den Vordergrund:

HAEC dulcis patria nostra est, haec familiae Vadianorum non uno seculo benevola et munifica nutrix est. Debeo igitur tantae altrici, cum publico gentis nomine, tum obligatione privati debiti. Cui enim non ingrato nec ignobili patriae facies iocunda non sit? Cui non dulce natale solum?³⁹

DIES ist unsere süsse Heimat, dies ist der Familie der von Watt eine wohlwollende und freigebige Amme für mehr als ein Menschenalter. Ich stehe also in der Schuld einer so grossen Erzieherin sowohl wegen des öffentlich bekannten Namens meines Geschlechts als auch besonders wegen privater Verpflichtung. Welchem dankbaren und edlen Menschen könnte denn das Antlitz der Heimat keine Freude bringen? Wer liebte nicht den Boden seiner Geburt?

Auf diese Weise schreibt sich Vadian persönlich in seinen Kommentar ein und präsentiert sich dem Leser in markanter Weise, als Bürger St. Gallens und Figurant des selbst verfassten Kommentars. Dass St. Gallen für ihn sehr viel bedeutet, unterstreicht er durch Bezeichnungen wie ‚dulcis patria nostra‘, ‚benevola et munifica nutrix‘ oder ‚tantae altrici‘. Da die *laus patriae* anlässlich der Beschreibung des Rheins erfolgt, und da er St. Gallen ungleich mehr als andere Städte berücksichtigt, wird die Heimatstadt zum wichtigsten Ort an diesem Fluss, der als der berühmteste und grösste aller Flüsse Europas dargestellt wird. Zweifelsohne kann man hier ein besonderes Selbstbewusstsein des Humanisten festmachen, der den Stolz auf seine Herkunft und die Identifikation mit seiner Heimatstadt über den Kommentar zur Weltbeschreibung des antiken Geographen Pomponius Mela zum Ausdruck bringt. Seine Leser weist er dabei sowohl durch die

³⁸ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168.

³⁹ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168.

Marginalie als auch durch das mit Kapitalien hervorgehobene ‚HAEC‘ auf diese Stelle der Selbstinszenierung hin. Darüber hinaus befindet sich im Index an der ersten Stelle unter V der Eintrag ‚Vadiani Patria 168‘. Die rhetorischen Fragen ‚Cui enim non ingrato nec ignobili patriae facies iocunda non sit? Cui non dulce natale solum?‘ legitimieren sein Bedürfnis, die *patria* hervorzuheben.

Vadian betont, sein Antrieb sei das Bemühen um Wahrheit und nicht etwa die Leidenschaft, daher wolle er auf Verherrlichung verzichten.⁴⁰ Dafür verweist er auf ein anderes Werk,⁴¹ denn die Vorzüge der Heimat seien ihm wichtig. So sagt er ‚ne quis erga patriam ingratos nos fuisse aliqua in parte obiicere queat‘,⁴² wage er es doch zumindest, die Vorzüge des Ortes, der Berge und die besondere Gottesfurcht der Bürger zu erwähnen, wenn er sie auch nicht ihrer Würde entsprechend berücksichtigen könne. Sein Bruder werde hoffentlich die begonnenen Mühen zu Ende führen.⁴³ So „verewigt“ der St. Galler Humanist seine Familie im Kommentar und dokumentiert seine Verantwortung als Gelehrter gegenüber der Herkunft.

Distanzierter tritt er im folgenden Teil auf, in dem er den Helvetiern viel Platz einräumt. Mit einem in Kapitalien gehaltenen ‚iuxta‘ und der Marginalie ‚Helvetii‘ markiert, schreibt er: ‚IUXTA patriam intra Rhenum et Rhodanum Helvetii sunt, quibus ipsis paginae nostrae debetur locus.‘⁴⁴

Wieder thematisiert Vadian eine Grenzfunktion – wobei hier Rhein und Rhone inklusive Grenzen für das Gebiet der Helvetier bilden, ‚neben‘ dem sich Vadians *patria*, die Stadt St. Gallen, befindet. Dass die Helvetier soviel Platz in seinem Lemma einnehmen, erklärt Vadian mit ‚paginae nostrae debetur locus‘. „Vadianus Helvetius“ fühlt sich gewissermassen

⁴⁰ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 168–169: ‚Ac ne quis amore me magis quam studio veritatis motum, ut plura de ea referam existimet, ab omnibus prorsus hoc in loco praeconiis abstinendum censui. Alio in opere conati sumus, et porro ubi poterimus, conabimur, ne quis erga patriam ingratos nos fuisse aliqua in parte obiicere queat.‘

⁴¹ Ebd. Vadian hatte als junger Student eine *patria illustrata* geschrieben, die allerdings nur fragmentarisch überliefert ist. Siehe Gaier U., „Vadian und die Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts“, in: Wunderlich W. (Hrsg.), *St. Gallen, Geschichte einer literarischen Kultur: Kloster-Stadt-Kanton*, Bd. 1: Darstellung (St. Gallen: 1999) 249–297, hier 260.

⁴² Ebd. ‚damit mir niemand vorwerfen kann, dass ich an einer Stelle undankbar gegenüber der Heimat gewesen sei‘.

⁴³ Siehe Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 169: ‚Quorum e numero futurum speramus, Melchiorum Vadianum fratrem nostrum ea etiamnum iuvenem indole praeditum, ut polliceri mihi ausim, modo bonus Genius vitae dux fuerit, consarturum eum post nos quicquid disparibus studiis occupatae vires nostrae inabsolutum ediderint.‘

⁴⁴ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 169: ‚Neben meiner Heimat leben zwischen Rhein und Rhone die Helvetier, denen selbst ein Platz auf unserer Seite gebührt.‘

verpflichtet über die Helvetier zu schreiben, zu denen er sich zählt. Sie sind allerdings nicht Teil seiner eigentlichen *patria* – dieser Begriff ist für die Stadt seiner Herkunft reserviert. Doch da St. Gallen ein zugewandter Ort der Eidgenossenschaft war, nahm Vadian diese politische Zugehörigkeit ebenfalls in Anspruch. So wurde er aus der Perspektive seiner Freunde in der „Fremde“, gerade etwa in Wien, als *Helvetius* nicht als *Sanctgallensis* wahrgenommen. Daher ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass die ‚Helvetii‘ die Identität Vadians bedeutend mittrugen. Ihnen widmet Vadian den grössten Teil seines Rheinlemmas – sie sind für ihn das einzige erwähnenswerte und das wichtigste Volk an den Ufern des berühmtesten Flusses Europas. Die Kampfkraft und Kriegslust der als Söldner weithin begehrten Eidgenossen unterstreicht Vadian. Die ungewöhnliche Gleichheit unter den Helvetiern betont er. Trotz der lobenden Worte tadelt er aber ihr allzu grosses Vertrauen in ihre Tapferkeit. An dieser Stelle, welche im Druckbild durch die Marginalie ‚Pugna Helvetiorum cum Gallis‘⁴⁵ markiert ist, holt er zu einer *digressio* über die erste grosse Niederlage der Helvetier aus, die sie 1515 in der Schlacht von Marignano erlitten hatten:⁴⁶

Quum Helvetiorum ex officio memini, pugna mihi incidit ea, quae anno ab hinc tertio prope Mediolanum multorum sanguine incruduit.⁴⁷

Jetzt, wo ich die Helvetier aus Pflichttreue erwähne, fällt mir die Schlacht ein, welche vor drei Jahren nahe bei Mailand mit vielen blutigen Verlusten tobte.

Vadian behandelt die Helvetier, wie er angibt, aus seiner Pflicht als landesbeschreibender Autor, der aus einem der Eidgenossenschaft zugewandtem Ort stammt. Was vorher mit ‚debetur locus‘ anklang, steigert sich hier zum expliziten ‚ex officio‘, welches die nachfolgende historiographische *digressio* gleichsam legitimiert.

Die Beschreibung Helvetiens wird mit der Aufzählung der wichtigsten Städte weitergeführt, welche ebenfalls durch eine Marginalie (‚Oppida Helvetiorum potiora‘)⁴⁸ hervorgehoben wird. Als ‚Oppida Helvetiorum

⁴⁵ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 169.

⁴⁶ Die Schlacht von Marignano gehört in den Kontext der Mailänderkriege, die sowohl für das Staatsverständnis der Eidgenossenschaft eine wichtige Rolle spielten als auch die Entwicklung des Nationalbewusstseins prägten.

⁴⁷ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 169. Diese Stelle hat Vadian direkt aus der ersten Edition von 1518 in jene von 1522 übernommen, ohne die Zeitangabe ‚anno ab hinc tertio‘ zu verändern.

⁴⁸ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 170.

foederatorum potissima⁴⁹ nennt Vadian Zürich, Bern, Luzern, (durch Grossbuchstaben hervorgehoben) Basel (wo die zweite Edition zu Drucke gelegt worden war), dann Freiburg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen und das verbündete Rottweil.⁵⁰ Während die Fokussierung auf die ‚oppida potiora‘ dem helvetischen Gebiet Bedeutung, Stärke und städtische Kultur verleiht, werden im Nachsatz zu den ‚in montanis altioribus pagi‘⁵¹ die Gebirgsdörfer als Hort der ‚virtus‘ und ‚parsimonia‘ dargestellt. Helvetische Gelehrsamkeit dokumentiert Vadian schliesslich mit einem konkreten Beispiel:

Extat de his non inelegans Catalogus ab Henrico scriptus Glareano et nuper Osvaldi Myconii Lucernatis commentariolis haud quaquam indoctis illustratus.⁵²

Es gibt über diese (Städte [Anm. der Verfasserin]) einen sehr gebildeten Katalog, geschrieben von Heinrich Glarean und neulich durch die äusserst gelehrten Notizen des Luzerners Oswald Myconius erläutert.

Neben dieser Stelle verdeutlicht des Weiteren die Marginalie ‚Henricus Glareanus‘,⁵³ dass Vadian helvetischen Humanisten sowie dem eigenen Gelehrtennetzwerk einen exponierten Platz im Kommentar zuteilt. Schliesslich hatte er jenem ‚catalogus‘, nämlich der von Oswald Myconius kommentierten und 1519 in Basel gedruckten *descriptio Helvetiae*⁵⁴ Glareans, ein 18 Distichen umfassendes Gedicht an *Helvetia* beige-steuert.⁵⁵ Dass

⁴⁹ Ebd.: ‚Oppida Helvetiorum foederatorum potissima sunt Tigurum, cum situ, tum potentia insigne, Berna, Lucerna, BASILEA, Friburgum, quod Avantici nomine vocari multorum hactenus sententia creditum est: caeterum vernacula vox liberam civitatem significat. Soloturris vetus, Schafhusia et trans Rhenum dum haec scribebam, perpetuo foedere socia facta Rotuila‘.

⁵⁰ In der ersten Edition von 1518 wird Basel nicht durch Grossbuchstaben hervorgehoben und das Rheinlemma endet nach der Aufzählung der helvetischen Städte, wobei Rottweil, das erst durch den ewigen Bund von 1519 erneut ein der Eidgenossenschaft zugewandter Ort wurde, nicht erwähnt wird.

⁵¹ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 170: ‚In montanis altioribus pagi quidem sunt, sed qui vetustam illam et imperiorum altricem parsimoniam atque virtutem adhuc retineant.‘

⁵² Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 170.

⁵³ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 170.

⁵⁴ Glarean veröffentlichte 1514 die später wiederholt aufgelegte *Helvetiae descriptio*. Gemäss Maissen besteht die Besonderheit des Textes unter anderem darin, dass hier zum ersten Mal antike Autoren wie Caesar, Strabo, Ptolemaeus, Plinius der Ältere, Tacitus und Pomponius Mela für die Schweizer Landeskunde ausgewertet worden seien. Dazu Maissen, „Weshalb die Eidgenossen Helvetier wurden“ 229.

⁵⁵ Zur bibliographischen Beschreibung des Druckes der von Myconius kommentierten *descriptio helvetiae* von 1519 in Basel (VD 16 L2675), siehe den Eintrag in den *Opera poetica Basiliensia* unter <http://www.ub.unibas.ch/cmsdata/spezialkataloge/poeba/poeba-003176172.html#c15787> (6.11.2012). Übersetzung: Glarean Heinrich, *Helvetiae descriptio Panegyricum*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Werner Näf (St. Gallen: 1948).

Glarean gleich nach der Stadt Rottweil genannt wird, zeigt die Organisation des Textes nach chorographischen Gesichtspunkten, beziehungsweise hier nach Städten; denn sowohl Glarean als auch Oswald Myconius waren ehemalige Schüler der Lateinschule Rottweils.

Laus Helvetiorum

Am Ende des Rheinlemmas reagiert Vadian schliesslich auf zeitgenössische Polemik gegen das „grobe Bauernvolk“ der Eidgenossen: Die Marginalie ‚*laus Helvetiorum*‘⁵⁶ führt den Leser zu der Stelle, an der Vadian das Lob auf die ‚*Helvetii*‘ anstimmt, indem er deren Freiheitsstreben antike Wurzeln zuschreibt und dieses Argument nutzt, um klarzustellen, dass diesem ‚*libertatis studium*‘ nichts Ungebührliches anhafte.⁵⁷ Auch wertet er die angeblich bauerlichen und deshalb rohen Sitten positiv und verweist auf die Tugenden, zu denen das rustikale Leben verhelfe. Den Vorwurf der fehlenden Bildung entkräftet er mit einem Zitat Ciceros aus der *Rede für Sextus Roscius*.⁵⁸

Vere enim non minus quam eleganter M. Cicero in diserta illa oratione, quam pro Roscio habuit, vitam rusticam, quam per contumeliam Erucius agrestem vocabat, parsimoniae, diligentiae, iustitiaeque magistram esse dixit.⁵⁹

Tatsächlich aber sagt M. Cicero sehr elegant in jener wohlgesetzten Rede, die er für Roscius hielt, dass das ländliche Leben, das Erycius bei seiner Beleidigung bauerisch nannte, die Lehrerin der Sparsamkeit, Sorgfalt und Gerechtigkeit sei.

Mit Ciceros Worten macht Vadian die „Bauerntölpel“ zu Schülern löblicher Eigenschaften der „*vita rustica*“; dabei nutzt er das gelehrte Zitat, um als Vertreter der verunglimpften ‚*Helvetii*‘ deren literarische Bildung sichtbar zu machen. Gleichsam an die Betroffenen appellierend, fügt er an, er hoffe, dass die bauerlichen Tugenden den ‚*unseren*‘,⁶⁰ wie er sie jetzt

⁵⁶ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 170.

⁵⁷ Vgl. Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 170: ‚*Illud non praeterierim, Helvetios Romanis iam olim foederatos fuisse, ea tantum conditione adiecta, ne in cives reciperentur, ne quis hodiernum libertatis studium aut novum esse his gentibus, aut prorsus tale quid permitti eis non debeat, occlamet*‘.

⁵⁸ Siehe Cicero, *Pro S. Roscio* 75.

⁵⁹ Vadian, *Pomponii Melae* 170.

⁶⁰ Vgl. ebd.: ‚*Hanc tantum abest, ut in nostris vitio dandam existimem, ut vehementer etc.*‘

nennt, erhalten blieben. So schliesst Vadian sein Rheinlemma mit einer *laus Helvetiorum*, die die Züge einer Verteidigungsrede trägt.

Obwohl Vadian nur St. Gallen als ‚patria‘ bezeichnet, wird doch deutlich, dass er sich in einem übergeordneten Sinne und gewissermassen auf internationaler Ebene mit den Helvetii und ihrem Ruf identifiziert. Ihre Bedeutung zeigt sich durch die mehrfache Verschlagwortung im Index.⁶¹ Sie sind das einzige Volk, das in der Rheinbeschreibung des neuzeitlichen Autors nicht nur erwähnt wird, sondern dem eine eigene *descriptio* mit *laus* und einer historiographischen *digressio* zugestanden wird. So stellt Vadian die *Helvetii* trotz ihrer Niederlage bei Marignano als noch immer äusserst kriegstüchtige, vom Schicksal begünstigte und tugendhafte Bewohner des Gebietes zwischen Rhone und Rhein dar, welches zudem mächtige Städte und erwähnenswerte Gelehrte bietet. Vadian schafft damit ein Stück humanistischer Landesbeschreibung, das ein aufkommendes Nationalbewusstsein konstruiert. Die klare Trennung zwischen Herkunft im engeren Sinne und einer allgemeineren „Volkszugehörigkeit“ manifestiert sich in der Abgrenzung des ausschliesslich für die Heimatstadt St. Gallen verwendeten ‚patria‘ von den ‚Helvetii‘.

Das Lob der Heimatstadt ist von einem persönlichen, auf familiären und städtischen Beziehungen gründenden *amor patriae* motiviert, während der Abschnitt zu den ‚Helvetii‘ und die *laus Helvetiorum* selbst die Vernetzung Vadians mit dem schweizerischen Humanismus und eine Identifikation mit dem eidgenössischen Bündnissystem spiegelt. Hier zeigt sich im Text ein humanistisches *natio*-Verständnis, bei dem es sich im ‚schweizerischen Falle um eine vergleichsweise frühe „Nationalisierung“ eines rein politischen, herrschaftlichen Gebildes‘⁶² handelt. Die Lokalisierung der *laus Helvetiorum* im Lemma zum Rhein bewirkt, dass der Leser auf seinem Gang durch die von Vadian erweiterte Weltbeschreibung Melas, die ‚Helvetii‘ direkt in Verbindung mit dem Rhein antrifft: Ihre fruchtbaren Äcker, ihre Weinberge, ihre Städte, ihre kriegstüchtigen, freiheitsliebenden aber auch tugendhaften Bürger säumen den grössten und berühmtesten europäischen Fluss. Der Text insinuiert eine Einheit des Rheins mit den Helvetiern und der Stadt St. Gallen – *natio* und *patria* stellt Vadian nebeneinander und überträgt ihnen Bekanntheit und Bedeutung des Flusses, den er für die Inszenierung seiner Identität vereinnahmt.

⁶¹ So prominent sind dort nur noch die Germani vertreten, denen ebenfalls ein Exkurs und verschiedene Lemmata, die sich grösstenteils mit dem Barbariesvorwurf beschäftigen, gewidmet sind.

⁶² Maissen, „Weshalb die Eidgenossen Helvetier wurden“ 247.

Fazit

Im Rheinlemma ist Vadian als Humanist, als Vertreter der Helvetii und als St. Galler präsent. Seine Herkunft und sein Gelehrtennetzwerk trägt er über den Kommentar gewissermassen auch dem antiken Text ein. Themen, die er für wichtig hält, hievt er über Marginalien, Kapitalien und die Verschlagwortung im Index vor die Leseraugen. Seine Angaben ordnet er der Textstruktur des antiken Hauptautors Pomponius Mela unter, indem er bei dessen erster ausführlicher Berücksichtigung des Rheines auch das entsprechende Lemma lokalisiert. Über den Kommentar steht er mit seiner Leserschaft in einem Dialog. Im Rheinlemma überlagert der Kommentartext deutlich den Referenztext, womit Vadian gewissermassen die Autorenrolle usurpiert. Der Kommentator nutzt die antike Weltbeschreibung als Plattform für seine eigene Landesbeschreibung und tritt sozusagen als Nebenantor Melas auf. Dem Leser präsentiert sich so eine Art „Paartext“, in dem sich der neuzeitliche Blick auf die Welt mit der antiken Geographie verbindet.

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INDEX NOMINUM

- Accius 100
 Acro, Helenius *see* Pseudo-Acro
 Aelian 379–380
 Aemilius Paulus 237, 268 n. 22
 Aeneas 86, 147
 Aeneas of Gaza 147
 Aesopus 234
 Agricola, Rudolph 18, 27, 29, 106, 317
 Alaric I, King of the Goths 137
 Albrecht II. Alcibiades (Duke of Brandenburg-Kulmbach) 263 n. 8
 Alciato, Andrea 9, 167–168, 181 n. 51, 234, 250, 294, 303–304
 Alexander of Pherae, tyrant of Pherae 156–158
 Althamer, Anderas 263 n. 8
 Amariton, Jean 15, 17–20, 21 n. 21, 22, 31, 44–45
 Amatus Lusitanus 343
 Ammianus Marcellinus 119 n. 60, 399–400
 Andreas, Johannes 364
 Andreas, Valerius 94–95
 Anguilarius 343
 Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius 142, 144
 Anicius Probinus 142, 144
 Apollinaris, Sidonius 135, 141 n. 65, 142, 280 n. 3
 Apollonius of Tyana 372
 Apollonius Rhodius 113, 372
 Apuleius 119 n. 60, 141 n. 65, 142
 Aquaeus, Stephanus (Laigue, Étienne) 6, 370–373
 Arcadius, Roman emperor 126, 137
 Argenteus, Eucharius 335 n. 18
 Aristotle 28, 37–38, 91, 97–99, 107, 324–325, 371–372, 375, 379–380, 383, 385
 Arminius 271–273
 Arnobius 135 n. 41, 141 n. 65
 Arnulf of Lisieux 143
 Arrian 313
 Arrivabene, Giorgio (Georgius) 66
 Arzignanensis, Oliverius 153, 155, 165
 Ascensius, Badius *see* Bade, Josse
 Athenaeus 336, 382
 Augustine, Saint 37, 140 n. 64
 Augustus (Roman Emperor) 33, 119, 208, 227, 229, 267 n. 20, 306 n. 63, 312–313
 Ausonius, Decimus Magnus 135 n. 41, 141 n. 65, 142
 Averroes 97
 Avicenna 330
 Bade, Josse (Badius Ascensius) 6, 95, 100, 153–166
 Barbaro, Ermolao 6, 106, 335, 364, 366, 371, 374, 377–379, 390–391
 Barclay, John 129 n. 19
 Barlandus, Adrianus 92
 Barth, Caspar von 6, 125–150
 Bayle, Pierre 44, 131 n. 31
 Bebel, Heinrich 263–264, 266 n. 18
 Bede (Beda Venerabilis) 143
 Behaim Lorenz 173–174
 Bellay, Joachim Du 19
 Bembo, Giovanni 366 n. 10
 Bentinus, Michael 136 n. 45
 Bentley, Richard 102 n. 49, 103
 Bérauld, Nicolas (Beraldus) 374
 Berchem, Hieronymus van 317
 Beroaldo, Filippo (the Elder) 64, 153, 285, 364, 378 n. 62
 Beys, Gilles 25
 Bild, Beat *see* Rhenanus
 Bobadilla, Francisco de (Bishop of Coria) 378
 Bocchus (King of Mauretania) 372
 Bock, Hieronymus 357
 Boissard, Jean Jacques 22, 24–25
 Brant, Sebastian 61, 64–65, 179 n. 46, 187, 252
 Braubach, Peter 47 n. 3
 Brevedent, Denis 19
 Brevedent, Jacques 19
 Brunfels, Otto 269 n. 26
 Bruno of Segni 135 n. 41
 Brutus, Junius 202, 248
 Bry, Theodor de 22
 Budé, Guillaume 101, 106, 364, 371, 374 n. 45
 Burman, Pieter II 127 n. 6
 Busbecq, Augier Ghislain de 94, 312–313
 Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar) 26, 37, 119 n. 60, 126 n. 5, 201–202, 219–220, 236, 248, 406 n. 54

- Caesarius, Johannes 374
 Calderini, Domizio 111, 114–116, 118, 122
 Caligula (Roman Emperor) 220
 Callimachus 142
 Camerarius, Joachim 48, 54–55
 Camers, Johannes 375 n. 49, 383, 391
 Campano, Giannantonio 263–264
 Cantor, Joannes 354 n. 64
 Cassiodorus 135 n. 41, 140 n. 64
 Cassius Dio 119 n. 60, 296, 298, 300, 304, 310, 313, 320
 Cato the Elder (Marcus Porcius Cato) 191, 303 n. 59
 Celsus, Cornelius Aurelius 21, 330
 Celtis, Konrad 61–62, 64, 67, 80 n. 52, 81, 84, 263–264, 390, 397 n. 15
 Chabot, Jeanne 23
 Chabot, Philippe de (Comte de Charny et Buzançois) 370
 Chabot, Pierre Gaultier 6–7, 15–16, 22–23
 Chalcondyles, Theophilus 155 n. 7
 Charisius 99, 103
 Charles, Margrave of Baden 61–62
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor 200, 216
 Chiffletius, Claudius 290
 Chiffletius, Johannes 290 n. 26
 Christina of Sweden 129, 129 n. 24, 138, 138 n. 56
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 5, 9, 28, 38, 99, 105, 112, 119, 135 n. 41, 157, 167–259, 288 n. 20, 295, 306, 364, 407
 Claudian, Claudius 6, 125–150
 Claudianus Mamertus 147
 Claudius Ptolemaeus 406 n. 54
 Claudius, Roman Emperor 310, 323
 Claverius, Stephanus 126 n. 6, 136 n. 43, n. 45
 Clement of Alexandria 141 n. 65, 306
 Clusius, Carolus 312 n. 69, 340
 Cocci, Marcantonio *see* Sabellico
 Commelin, Hieronymus 377 n. 59
 Constantin, Robert 382 n. 77
 Costanzo da Fano, Antonio (Constantius Fanensis, Antonius) 379
 Cordus, Valerius 338 n. 28
 Cornaro, Giano 358
 Cornelius ab Auwater, Valerius 279
 Cornelius Rufus *see* Rufus
 Corvinus, Matthias, King of Hungary 111–112, 286 n. 15
 Covarruvias, Antonio de 316, 323
 Cratander, Andreas 391
 Cruquius, Jacobus 91, 94, 100 n. 40, 102
 Cuiacius, Jacobus 319
 Curio Valentinus 2 n. 4
 Cuspinian, Johannes (Spiessheimer) 391
 Cyprian of Carthage 141 n. 65, 143 n. 70
 Daléchamps, Jacques 6, 338–339, 349, 363–364, 381–385
 Damianus a Goes 374
 Daum, Christian 128
 David, Matthieu 17 n. 6
 De la Gardie, Magnus Gabriel 129 n. 24
 Della Fonte, Bartolomeo *see* Fonzio, Bartolomeo
 Delrio, Martinus Antonius 131, 136 n. 43
 Demosthenes 104 n. 58, 208
 Diodorus, Siculus 263
 Diomedes 99
 Dionysius II of Syracuse 209
 Dioscorides, Pedanius 334 n. 15, 345 n. 46, 349 n. 50, 381 n. 75
 Dioxippus 368
 Divaeus, Petrus 294
 Domitian, Roman Emperor 120, 134
 Donatus, Aelius 48–49, 56
 Dudo of Saint-Quentin 143
 Dürer, Albrecht 244
 Ebner, Erasmus 53
 Ebner, Hieronymus 53
 Egenolff, Christian 167, 239
 Ennodius of Pavia 135, 142
 Eobanus Hessus 47–59
 Episcopus, Eusebius 17 n. 6
 Episcopus, Nicolaus the Younger 354 n. 63
 Erasistratus 368
 Erasmus, Desiderius 41 n. 84, 92–93, 98 n. 28, 103–108, 289 n. 23, 365, 373–374, 377, 378 n. 63
 Esopus *see* Aesopus
 Estaço, Aquiles (Statius, Achilles) 94
 Eugenius, Flavius 140 n. 64
 Euripides 105
 Eutropius 137, 380–381, 384
 Fabricius, Blasius 48 n. 4, 59
 Falloppio, Gabriele 5, 340, 341, 341 n. 38, 353–354
 Farnese, Alessandro 280 n. 3, 315 n. 73
 Farnese, Ranuccio 280 n. 3, 315 n. 73
 Feltre, Vittorino da 154 n. 4
 Ferdinand II, Holy Roman emperor 138
 Fernel, Jean 382 n. 77
 Ferretus, Aemilius 284–288, 291, 301, 304
 Filelfo, Francesco 116
 Filetico, Martino 48 n. 5

- Flavius Philostratus *see* Philostratus
 Florus, Lucius 381, 384
 Fontana, Benedetto 284
 Fonzio, Bartolomeo 7, 111–122
 Fortunatus, Matthaeus 378 n. 63
 Fortunio, Giovanni Francesco 366–368
 Fouquelin, Antoine 22, 44
 Fox Morcillo, Sebastian 94
 Frederick III. (Holy Roman Emperor) 366
 Froben, Hieronymus 285, 373, 377, 386
 Froben, Johannes 108 n. 75, 261 n. 1, 270 n. 27, 276, 377 n. 60
 Fuchs, Leonhart 338 n. 28, 343
 Fulgentius 141 n. 65

 Gadaldino, Agostino 336
 Gaddi, Francesco 116
 Galen 330, 333, 336–337, 339, 343, 352–355, 357–359, 382
 Gallus, Cornelius 20
 Ganay, Germain de 162
 Gardiner, Stephen 104 n. 58
 Gassendi, Pierre 264 n. 13
 Gaultier, Pierre 6–7, 15–16, 22–23
 Gaza, Theodor 106, 372, 380
 Gelenius, Sigismundus 6, 363–364, 373–377, 382–383
 Gellius, Aulus 159 n. 17
 Georg der Fromme (Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach) 263 n. 8
 Germanicus 119 n. 60, 135 n. 41
 Gesner, Conrad 8, 354, 380 n. 70, 382 n. 77
 Gesner, Johann Matthias 127 n. 6
 Ghini, Luca 338 n. 28
 Giselinus, Victor 290 n. 25
 Glareanus, Henricus 103 n. 56, 107, 406–407
 Goclenius, Konrad 92–93
 Goldast, Melchior 141 n. 66
 Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de (cardinal) 280
 Grasser, Johann Jakob 24, 44
 Gregory of Nyssa 142
 Grimaldi, Domenico 366
 Grimm Sigmund 172, 174–176, 179
 Grotius, Janus 320
 Grüninger, Johannes 9, 61–84
 Grym(m) *see* Grimm, Sigmund
 Gryphius, Sebastianus 285, 289 n. 21
 Guarini, Battista 153
 Guarino da Verona 113, 154 n. 4
 Guilandino, Melchior 330–331, 336–337

 Guzman, Hernán Núñez de Toledo y (Pintianus, Ferdinandus) 363, 373, 377–381, 383
 Gymnich, Johann 27 n. 42

 Hardouin, Jean S.J. (Harduinus, Joannes) 363–364, 377, 386
 Heinsius, Daniel 38
 Heinsius, Nicolaus 130 n. 30
 Heliodorus of Emesa 135 n. 41
 Herbipolensis, Martinus 160 n. 20
 Hermannus Alemannus 97
 Hermes Trismegistus 135 n. 41
 Herodotus 364, 369
 Hesse, Peter 355
 Hessus, Eoban *see* Eobanus Hessus
 Hippocrates 330
 Homer 38, 106, 119 n. 60, 135 n. 41, 294, 296, 298, 364
 Honoratus, Bartholomaeus 338 n. 29
 Honorius, Roman emperor 137–139
 Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) 5, 7–9, 15–46, 61–110, 119, 141 n. 65, 153 n. 1, 154 n. 2, 288 n. 288, 358 n. 78, 364
 Hospital, Michel de l' (Chancellor of France) 15, 23
 Hospital, Paul Hurault de l' 23
 Hutten, Ulrich von 175, 263 n. 8
 Hydatius (chronicler) 140 n. 64

 Isidore of Seville 313

 Jelení, Zikmund Hrubý *see* Gelenius, Sigismundus
 Jerome (Saint) 141 n. 65, 142
 Jornandes 307, 309
 Joseph Klug 263 n. 8, 276
 Julian the Apostate 135 n. 41
 Julien, Guillaume 46
 Julius II (pope) 220
 Julius Paris 160 n. 20
 Justinus Lippiensis 143
 Juvenal (Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis) 6–7, 111–123, 148, 153 n. 1, 289

 Knappe, Hans the Elder 263 n. 7, 276

 La Cerda, Juan Luis de 131 n. 32
 Lactantius 119 n. 60, 141 n. 65
 Ladislaus V, King of Hungary 113
 Laelius 191
 Laertius, Diogenes 264 n. 13
 Laigue, Étienne *see* Aquaeus, Stephanus
 Lamia, Aelius 32, 33 n. 53

- Landino, Cristoforo 5, 61, 63 n. 3, 64,
66 n. 11, 70–71, 73 n. 35, 83 n. 57, 85–88,
97, 103, 112
Langerak, Johann Arnold 360 n. 82
Latomus, Bartholomew 27 n. 43
Laurinus, Marcus 94
Le Preux, Poncet 386
Lectius, Jacobus 324
Leers, Reinier 44 n. 90
Lejeune, Martin 26
Leo X (pope) 220
Leonicens, Niccolò 5, 335
Leontius Mechanicus 135 n. 41
Libanius 105, 135 n. 41
Lipsius, Justus 6, 91–92, 279–326
Livius 5, 94, 115, 119, 161, 310, 313, 315, 372,
380–381
Locher Jakob (Philomusus) 5 n. 9, 6,
61–90
Lombardi, Bartolomeo 97 n.24
Longolius, Christophorus *see* Longueil
Longueil, Christophe de (Longolius) 374
Loriti, Heinrich *see* Glareanus
Lotter, Melchior the Elder 263 n. 7
Lubben, Eilert (Eilhardus Lubinus) 31 n. 51
Lucan, Annaeus 112, 135 n. 41, 367 n. 14
Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus) 141
n. 65, 293 n. 35
Lundorp, Michael Caspar 141 n. 66
Lupfdich, Johannes 80 n. 52
Luther, Martin 57, 254
- Machiavelli, Nicolò 200–201, 221
Maecenas, Gaius Cilnius 71 n. 29, 72, 86
Maffei, Raffaele *see* Volterrano, Raffaello
Maggi, Vincenzo 97
Mancinelli, Antonio 5, 62–63, 67, 74
n. 39, 114, 116
Manilius, Marcus 135 n. 41
Manlius Theodorus, Flavius 133, 138
Mantovano, Giovanni Battista *see*
Spagnoli, Giovanni Battista
Manuzio, Aldo 160 n. 20, 384 n. 84
Marc Anthony 208
Mariette, Denys 23 n. 24
Marnius, Claudius 341 n. 38, 361
Maroboduus 261, 268–275, 277
Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis) 1–2,
7, 68 n. 19, 119–120, 141 n. 65, 306
Martianus Capella 119 n. 60, 135 n. 41,
141 n. 65
Masinissa 157–158
Matthias, Corvinus, King of Hungary
111–112, 123, 286 n. 15
- Mattioli Pietro Andrea 5, 340, 342–343,
345, 349–350, 352–355, 357–358, 362
Maurice (Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel) 128,
138 n. 55
Maximianus 20 n. 18
Maximilian (Roman King) 9, 64
Maximilian I (Holy Roman Emperor) 64,
216, 282 n. 5, 290 n. 24, 312
Mayr, Martin 263
Mela, Pomponius 3, 6, 7, 378, 389–410
Melanchthon, Philipp 263 n. 8, 276
Mellerus Palmerius, Janus 317
Mentelin, Johann 155
Mercier, Josias 317
Mercuriale, Girolamo 329, 330 n. 1, 331
Merula, Giorgio 7, 111, 114–117
Miscomini, Antonio 27 n. 41, 63
Modius, Franciscus 317
Montefeltro, Guidobaldo da (Duke of
Urbino) 66
Moravus, Augustinus 81 n. 53
Moreri, Louis 23 n. 24
Moretus, Balthasar 283 n. 8
Moretus, Joannes 94, 95 n. 15, 304 n. 60,
315 n. 73, 316 n. 75, 320, 322, 326
Morillon, Antoine 93
Muguet, François 386
Muretus, Marcus Antonius 361, 386
Mutius Lucius 237
Myconius, Oswald (Geisshüsler) 406–407
- Nannius, Petrus (Nanninck, Pieter) 8,
91–110
Nebrija, Antonio de 364
Neoptolemus of Parion 97
Nero (Roman Emperor) 220, 289–290,
301, 309–310, 313, 323
Neuber Johann 167, 173, 175
Neustetter, Erasmus (Sturmer) 317
Niccolò Perotti (Archbishop of Siponto) 2
Nonius Marcellus 99, 135 n. 41
Numa Pompilius 36
- Olybrius: *see* Anicius Hermogenianus
Olybrius
Omphalius, Jakob 27 n. 43
Oporinus, Johannes 360 n. 82
Oppianus 380
Orosius, Paulus 381
Orsini, Fulvio 280 n. 2, 284, 298, 384 n. 86
Orta, Garcia de 339
Ortelius, Abraham 304 n. 60
Ostaeeyen, Jan van 39
Osten, Leonard 26, 46

- Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) 5, 11–12, 21, 46, 68 n. 19, 119 n. 60, 141 n. 65, 148
- Pantaleon, Heinrich 33
- Parrhasio, Aulo Giano 136
- Parrhasius, Ianus 103, 107
- Paulinus of Nola 142
- Paulinus of Périgueux 142
- Pazzi, Alessandro 97
- Pedemonte, Francesco Filippo 97, 109
- Perchacinus, Gratosus 354 n. 65, 361
- Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus) 31 n. 49, 111–112, 119 n. 60, 121, 122 n. 74, 123, 153 n. 1
- Peter of Poitiers 143
- Peter of Spain 18
- Peter the Venerable 143
- Peter (Saint and first pope) 255
- Petrarch Francis 167–259
- Petrarch-Master 167–259
- Petreius, Johannes 263 n. 8, 276
- Petri, Henricus 335 n. 20, 361
- Petronius Arbitrator 119 n. 60, 135 n. 41, 141
- Petronius Probus, Sextus 116, 142 n. 67, 144, 146 n. 78
- Peyper, Friedrich 263 n. 8, 276
- Phaedrus 135 n. 41, 234
- Phalaris 206, 212
- Philip (King of Macedon) 208
- Philistion of Locri 368
- Philomusus *see* Locher, Jakob
- Philomusus *see* Superchi, Giovanni Francesco
- Philostratus, Flavius 372
- Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *see* Pius II (Pope)
- Pichena, Curtius 320
- Pighius, Stephanus 93
- Pincio, Filippo 63
- Pintianus *see* Guzman, Hernán Núñez
- Pinzi, Filippo 284
- Pius II (Pope, Enea Silvio Piccolomini) 113, 155 n. 4, 262 n. 2, 263–264, 277
- Plancus, Lucius Munatius 36
- Plantin, Christopher 94 n. 8, 100 n. 40, 130 n. 29, 279–280, 283, 290, 301 n. 51, 303, 315, 320, 326, 340 n. 36
- Plato 119 n. 60, 368
- Plautus (Titus Maccius Plautus) 5, 93, 141 n. 65, 306, 324
- Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus) 5–6, 11, 37, 119 n. 60, 306, 310, 313, 327–387
- Pliny the Younger (Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus) 119 n. 60, 120
- Plotis, Giovanni Battista de 31 n. 49
- Plutarch 40, 87, 119 n. 60, 135 n. 41, 289–290, 296, 302, 310, 372
- Poggio, Giovanni Francesco Bracciolini 263
- Poliziano, Angelo 7, 26, 27 n. 41, 62, 70, 106, 111–112, 114–118, 335, 337, 356
- Polybius 148, 304 n. 60
- Pompeius, Sextus 159 n. 16
- Pompilius, Numa *see* Numa
- Pomponius Mela *see* Mela
- Pontius of Carthage 142
- Porphyrio 21, 62, 66, 71, 73 n. 35, 74, 85, 86 nn. 62–65, 87 nn. 76, 79, 88 n. 86, 97, 99, 101
- Prahates (King of Parthia) 33
- Probinus *see* Anicius Probinus
- Probus *see* Petronius Probus Sextus
- Proclus 135 n. 41
- Propertius 21, 119 n. 60
- Prosper of Aquitaine 135 n. 41
- Prudentius Clemens, Aurelius 141 n. 65, 142, 143 n. 70, 144
- Pseudo-Acro 62, 66, 71, 73 n. 35, 79 n. 47, 85, 86 nn. 68–69, 87 nn. 78, 80, 88 nn. 81, 83–84, 87–88, 99, 101–103
- Pseudo-Phocylides 113
- Pseudo-Probos 116
- Pseudo-Virgil 141 n. 65
- Ptolemy 135 n. 41, 267 n. 20, 406 n. 54
- Publius Victor 313
- Pulmannus, Theodorus 136 nn. 43, 45, 289–290
- Puzeolano, Francesco 284
- Pyrrhus 270 n. 28, 384
- Quevedo, Francisco de 143 n. 71
- Quinctilius, Varus 271 n. 29
- Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus) 29, 38, 99, 100 n. 38, 112, 119 n. 60, 135 n. 41, 165 n. 33
- Ramus, Peter 7, 15–19, 22–24, 27 n. 43, 30–31, 38, 44
- Raphelengius, Franciscus 136 n. 43, 312 n. 69, 315 n. 73, 316 n. 75, 319, 324 n. 89, 326, 360 n. 82
- Reisner, Friedrich 39
- Rhenanus, Beatus (Bild) 6, 94, 96, 172 n. 15, 256–258, 261–277, 285, 287–289, 294, 296, 298, 304 n. 59, 307, 309–310, 323, 364, 370, 377 n. 59
- Rhodiginus, Caelius *see* Ricchieri, Lodovico Celio

- Ricchieri, Lodovico Celio (Rhodiginus, Caelius) 384
- Riederer, Friedrich 80 n. 52
- Robertello, Francesco 98, 109
- Rondelet, Guillaume 381, 382 n. 77
- Rovilius, Gulielmus 339 n. 34, 349 n. 51, 360 n. 82, 361
- Rubeis, Laurentius de 335 n. 20
- Rufinus, Flavius (Praetorian prefect) 137
- Rufus, Cornelius 313, 315
- Rumpler, Angelus 81 n. 53
- Rutilius Claudius Namatianus 135 n. 41
- Sabellico, Marcantonio (Cocci) 5, 160–161, 363–369, 374, 383, 387
- Sabino, Angelo 114
- Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus) 161–162, 165, 372
- Salvianus of Marseille 135 n. 41
- Sambucus, Johannes 289–290
- Saumaise, Claude de (Salmasius, Claudius) 364
- Scaliger, Josephus Justus 336 n. 24, 382 n. 77
- Scaliger, Julius Caesar 26, 100 n. 37, 126 n. 5
- Schott, Andreas (Schottus) 94, 316, 320
- Schwarzenberg (Schwartzenberg) Johann Freiherr von 9, 167–258
- Scipio Africanus the Elder 191, 237
- Sedulius 142, 143 n. 70
- Seneca the Elder (Lucius Annaeus Seneca) 320
- Seneca the Younger (Lucius Annaeus Seneca) 296, 298, 378, 380–381, 384
- Servius (Servius Honoratus Maurus) 48–49, 51, 54–57, 101 n. 46, 113 n. 18, 119 n. 60, 296
- Setzer, Johann 47 n. 3, 48 n. 4, 59
- Sidonius Apollinaris 119 n. 60, 135, 141 n. 65, 142, 280 n. 3
- Silius Italicus 119 n. 60, 141 n. 65, 372 n. 36
- Silius Italicus, Tiberius Catus Asconius 119 n. 60, 141 n. 65
- Singrenius, Johannes 263 n. 7, 276, 390 n. 1, 410
- Solinus, Julius 380
- Spagnoli, Giovanni Battista 50, 53, 57–59, 153 n. 1
- Stadius, Joannes *see*: Ostaeyen, Jan van
- Stapulensis, Faber 19 n. 12
- Statius, Publius Papinius 119 n. 60, 125–150
- Steiner Heinrich 9, 167–258
- Stephanus, Henricus 283 n. 7
- Stilicho, Flavius 126, 133–140
- Stöckel, Wolfgang 263 n. 7, 276
- Strabo 87, 119 n. 60, 296, 306, 310, 372, 380, 391, 406 n. 54
- Strozzi, Lorenzo 115
- Sturm, Johann 27 n. 43
- Suetonius (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus) 5, 102, 119–120, 267 n. 20, 272–273, 276, 289–290, 293, 296, 298, 300, 304, 310, 313
- Sulla 201 n. 91, 216, 219, 351 n. 55
- Superchi, Giovanni Francesco (Philomusus) 5 n. 9, 6, 63 n. 2, 64 n. 6, 65–66, 74 n. 36, 75 n. 42, 77 n. 46, 80 n. 51, 81 n. 52, 89
- Tacitus (Publius Cornelius Tacitus) 5–7, 119–120, 148, 261–326, 406 n. 54
- Talon, Omer 15, 23, 27 n. 43, 38
- Terence (Publius Terentius Afer) 5, 93, 101 n. 46, 104–105, 119 n. 60, 153 n. 1
- Tertullian 141 n. 65, 313
- Themistius 135 n. 41
- Theocritus 47–58
- Theodosius I, Roman Emperor 126, 137–138
- Theognis 40, 41
- Theophrastus 333 n. 14, 339, 342–343, 349, 351
- Tiberius (Roman Emperor) 163, 227, 270, 272, 300–301
- Tiridates 32, 33
- Torrentius, Laevinus 91, 94, 109
- Tortelli, Giovanni 114, 116, 123
- Tournèbe, Antoine (Turnebus, Hadrianus) 315, 364, 382
- Trechsel, Jean 154
- Turnebus, Adrianus *see* Tournèbe
- Ulmus, Marcus Antonius 336 n. 23, 355 n. 67, 361
- Vadianus, Joachim (von Watt) 3, 6–7, 389–410
- Valerius Flaccus, Gaius 112, 119 n. 60, 135 n. 41
- Valerius Maximus 151–166
- Valerius, Cornelius 92–93, 279
- Valgrisius, Vincentius 97 n. 24, 109, 340 n. 37, 344, 347–348, 361
- Valla, Giorgio 7, 97, 111, 114–122
- Valla, Lorenzo 27 n. 43, 160
- Valluphin, Henri 154
- Varro, Marcus Terentius 119 n. 60, 295, 310, 315, 380

- Veianius 20, 21
 Velleius Paterculus 261, 269, 273, 276, 326
 Venantius Fortunatus 135
 Veronese, Gaspare 114
 Vertranus Maurus, Marcus 288–289,
 303–304, 309
 Vetter, Johannes 75 n. 42
 Vettius Valens 135
 Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) 5–6, 38,
 47–51, 53–59, 71 n. 29, 77 n. 44, 86–87,
 106, 119, 131 n. 32, 141, 153 n. 1, 258, 364
 Vittorino da Feltre *see* Feltre
 Vives, Juan Luis 104, 105 n. 63, 109
 Volterrano, Raffaello 364, 374
 Watt, Joachim von *see* Vadianus
 Wechel, André 22
 Weiditz, Hans 172 n. 14, 175, 257–258
 William of Moerbeke 97
 Wimpfeling, Jakob 263, 264
 Winterburg, Johann (Printer) 263 n. 7,
 273 n. 32, 276
 Wirsung, Agathe 175
 Wirsung, Marx 172, 174–175, 257–258
 Xenophon 157 n. 10, 306
 Xenophon of Ephesus 115
 Zacharias of Mitylene 135 n. 41, 147